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THE

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE;

CONTAINING

EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

By which his extraordinary Character has been formed;

WITH A CONCISE

HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED

HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,

AND A

PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW

OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS

A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign.

INCLUDING

Memoirs and Original Anecdotes

OF

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,

AND THE

MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE APPEARED IN FRANCE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

BY WILLEM LODEWYK VAN-ESS.

Illustrated with numerous Portraits.

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LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

Reflections on Nelson's Victory of the Nile.—Admiral Ganteaume's abstracted Detail of that Engagement.—Tallien carries the News of the Battle to Buonaparté.—Buonaparté's Disposition of the Army.—Partial Engagements with the Arabs and Mamelukes.—He receives the News of the Destruction of the French Fleet.—His memorable Dispatch to the Directory on that Event.—His Letter to Madame Brueys on the Death of her Husband.—He visits the Pyramids.—His singular Conversation, in one of the Vaults, with the Chief Mufti.

ADMIRAL Ganteanme's dispatch to the Directory, communicating the intelligence of the battle at Aboukir, is most truly descriptive of the general feelings of the officers of the French fleet upon that event; and, notwithstanding the regret which is expressed, of the French Admiral's having chosen the position wherein he awaited the reception of the English fleet, yet it was, probably, the best situation that he could have selected for the security of his own: it was neither excellence of position, inequality of force, or superiority of arrangement, that could

have deterred the Engliſh commander from engaging the enemy. Nelſon conſidered that his duty was to find out the French fleet, and to *beat* it: it was not an engagement with a probability of ſucceſs that he calculated upon; he had promiſed to himſelf a *victory*, and he, therefore, did not reckon on the chance of a defeat.—To him the glory would have been the ſame, whether he had deſtroyed the French fleet or periſhed in an unſucceſsful action. Like Buonaparté, the grandeur of his object was his incitement to its attainment; and, like him when he had determined, he employed all the means he could exert to effect it:—Like Buonaparté, his means were arranged and combined with preciſion, and directed by his own energy and intrepidity. The quick diſcrimination of his judgment, his prompt deciſion, and the exalted daring of his mind; every faculty of attention and of noble purpoſe; every ſuggeſtion of his ſoul, and every pulſation of his heart; all that his gallant ſpirit could conceive, command, or operate, and all that courage and valour could prompt; all and everything of the man and of his powers, were actively and individually directed to the execution of his deſign. This was the man who led the Engliſh fleet againſt the unfortunate Brueys; and, had he failed in his attack, it would not have been becauſe he had merely endeavoured to drive the French fleet from the ſhores of Egypt, but becauſe he purpoſed its entire deſtruction, and, therefore, projected ſuch a bold manœuvre, as ordinary ſkill and bravery could not have deviſed, and would not have tried. His intrepidity was crowned by ſucceſs: he ſnatched new and unfading laurels, where ſcarcely any other penetration could have diſcerned them, whence ſcarcely

any other hand would have been ſtretched forth to reach them. What in other naval commanders would have been raſhneſs to attempt, he achieved; and thus ſecured a moſt important victory for his country, and enrolled his own fame on the records of immortality.

The Abſtract of the battle, which accompanied the diſpatches of Admiral Gauteaume, forms another important document of this memorable naval victory.

Abſtract of the Engagement which took place on the Night of the 1ſt of Auguſt, between the French Fleet, and that of Great Britain, under the command of Rear Admiral NELSON.

Alexandria, August 5, 1798.

At two in the afternoon, the Heureux threw out a ſignal of 12 ſail in the W.N.W. Our men on the look-out diſcovered them at the ſame time, and counted ſucceſſively as many as ſixteen. We were not long in recogniſing theſe veſſels to be an Engliſh ſquadron, compoſed of fourteen ſail of the line, and two brigs.

The two brigs, the Alceſte and the Railleur, were immediately ordered to make ſail to windward, to prevent the enemy's light veſſel from continuing her ſoundings.

The ſignals for ſtowing the hammocks, and making ready for fight; for announcing the reſolution of engaging at anchor; and for recalling the men on board their reſpective ſhips, were all made at three.

The longboats, employed in watering, were alſo recalled: a boat was haſtily diſpatched from the Artémiſe to the ſhoals of Roſetta, to acquaint the tranſports there with the appearance of the enemy; and, finally, the frigates and corvettes were ordered to ſend as many of their men as poſſible on board the ſhips of the line.

The enemy's ſquadron continued to advance with a preſs of ſail; after ſtanding off to a conſiderable diſtance, to avoid

the breakers on the iſland, it hauled its wind, ſhortened ſail, and clearly manifeſted a deſign to attack us.

At three quarters after five, the battery on the little iſland threw ſome bombs, which fell into the van of the enemy's line; at ſix, the Admiral threw out the ſignal for commencing the engagement, and ſhortly after, the two headmoſt ſhips began firing.

Several of the enemy's veſſels having ſuddenly ſhortened ſail, had turned the head of our line, and, letting go their anchors, with a cable aftern, had ranged alongſide, between us and the land; while others had moored themſelves within piſtol-ſhot of us, on the other ſide! By this manœuvre, all our veſſels, as far down as the Tonnant, found themſelves completely enveloped, and placed between two fires.

It appeared to us that in executing this manœuvre, two of their veſſels had run aground: one of them, however, was immediately got off.

The attack and the defence were extremely briſk. The whole of our van was attacked on both ſides, and ſometimes raked: in this diſorder, and involved as we were in continual clouds of ſmoke, it was extremely difficult to diſtinguiſh the different movements of the line.

At the beginning of the action, the Admiral, all the ſuperior officers, the firſt commiſſary, and about twenty pilots, and maſters of tranſports, were on the poop of the ſhip*, employed in ſerving the muſquetry. All the ſoldiers, and ſailors, were ordered to the guns on the main and lower decks: the twelve pounders were not half-manned.

After the action had laſted about an hour the Admiral was wounded in the body, and, in the hand; he then came down from the poop, and, a ſhort time after, was killed on the quarter-deck,

Obliged to defend ourſelves on both ſides, we gave up

* The l'Orient.

the twelve pounders; but the twenty-fours, and thirty-sixes kept up their fire with all possible ardour. The Franklin and the Tonnant appeared to be in as critical a situation as ourselves.

The English having utterly destroyed our van, suffered their ships to drift forward, still ranging along our line, and taking their different stations around us: while we were frequently obliged to veer away our cable or our hawser, to enable us to present our broadside to the enemy.

One of their ships, however, which lay close to us on the starboard side totally dismasted, ceased her fire, and cut her cable, to get out of the reach of our guns: but obliged to defend ourselves against two others, who were furiously thundering upon us, on the larboard quarter, and on the starboard bow, we were again compelled to heave in some of our cable.

The thirty-six and twenty-four pounders were still firing briskly, when an explosion took place on the aft of the quarter-deck. We had already had a boat on fire; but we had cut it away, and so avoided the danger: we had also thrown a hammock, and some other things, which were in flames, overboard; but this third time the fire spread so rapidly and instantaneously amongst the fragments of every kind, with which the poop was encumbered, that all was soon in flames. The fire pumps had been dashed to pieces by the enemy's balls, and the tubs and buckets rendered useless.

An order was given to cease firing, that all hands might be at liberty to bring water; but such was the ardour of the moment, that in the tumult the guns of the main deck still continued their fire. Although the officers had called all the people between decks aloft, the flames had, in a very short time, made a most alarming progress, and we had but few means in our power of checking them.

Our main and mizen-masts were both carried away;

and we ſoon ſaw that there was no ſaving the ſhip; the fire having already gained the poop, and even the battery on the quarter-deck.

The Captain and ſecond Captain had been wounded ſome time before. General Ganteaume, therefore, took upon himſelf the command, and ordered the ſcuttles to be opened, and everybody to quit the ſhip.

The fire broke out about a quarter before ten, and at half-after ten the ſhip blew up, although we had taken the precaution to open all the water-courſes. Some of the crew ſaved themſelves on the wreck; the reſt periſhed.

The action continued all the night with the ſhips in the rear, and, at break of day, we diſcovered that the Guerrier, the Conquérant, the Spartiate, the Aquillon, the Peuple, Souverain, and the Franklin had hauled down their colours, and were in the poſſeſſion of the enemy. The Timoleon, with all her maſts gone, was dropt aſtern of the fleet, her colours ſtill flying. The Heureux and the Mercure, which had run aground were attacked, and obliged to ſtrike in the morning. The Arténiſe was ſet on fire at eight o'clock, and the Sérieuſe ſunk.

The Guillaume Tell, the Genereux, the Timoleon, the Diana, and the Juſtice, with their colours ſtill flying, were engaged with ſome Engliſh veſſels during a part of the morning, but this diviſion, with the exception of the Timoleon, ſet their ſails, about eleven o'clock, and ſtood off to ſea.

The Timoleon ran aſhore; and we have ſince heard, that the Captain, after landing all his men, ſet her on fire the next morning, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

Such are the reſults of this horrible affair; and we have detailed them as they preſented themſelves to our memory; not having been able to preſerve a paper or note of any kind.

Rear Admiral GANTEAUME.

At the time of this engagement, TALLIEN, of whom we have formerly written, was at Rosetta, and, in a letter to Barras the Director, he says "Consternation has overwhelmed us all. I set out tomorrow for Cairo, to carry the news to Buonaparté: It will shock him so much the more, as he had not the least idea of its happening: he will, doubtless, find resources in himself, if not to repair a loss of such magnitude, at least to prevent the disaster becoming fatal to the army which he commands."

The effects of this maritime disaster were, in some degree, soothed by the rapid successes that attended the military forces under the command of Buonaparté. At the time the French entered Cairo, the Mamelukes were divided into two armies; the one commanded by Murad Bey, which took the route of Upper Egypt; the other, under the command of Ibrahim Bey, proceeded towards Syria. The whole power of the Egyptian government had been divided between these Beys; Murad Bey was at the head of the military department, while Ibrahim, presided in the administration of civil affairs.

Desaix, who was charged to observe Murad, and to hold him in check; formed an entrenched camp, four leagues beyond Giza, on the left bank of the Nile: his advanced posts and those of Murad Bey were very near each other. Ibrahim Bey retired to Belbeis, where he waited for the return of the caravan from Mecca, in order to be reinforced by the corps of Mamelukes that escorted it, with a view to execute an extensive plan of hostile operations, in conjunction with Murad Bey and the Arabs. From this arrangement, it is evident, that, whatever credit may be due to the charges brought by the French

againſt the Beys for miſ-rule, they were not deſtitute of talents. Ibrahim made every exertion in his power to induce the Fellahs of the Delta, to take arms, and to incite the inhabitants of Cairo to revolt; Buonaparté, therefore, felt the neceſſity of organiſing a proviſional government, as well as of regulating every branch of the public ſervice; he alſo wiſhed, by placing his forces in entrenched poſitions, to ſecure the French from all ſurpriſe, either on the part of the Mamelukes or the inhabitants.

In the mean time, as the neighbourhood of Ibrahim Bey was highly dangerous, the General of Brigade, Le Clerc, was diſpatched from Cairo, on the 2d of Auguſt, with 300 cavalry, three companies of grenadiers, and a battalion, with two pieces of light artillery, and ordered to take a poſition at Elhanka, and to obſerve his motions. On the following day, the General was attacked by a body of 4,000 Mamelukes and Arabs, which a few diſcharges of artillery ſoon compelled to retire. Buonaparté now conſidered Ibrahim of ſo much conſequence that he marched againſt him in perſon, but could not overtake him till he had been joined by the Caravan, and encreaſed his army from the Mamelukes, its eſcort. At Salehieh the French came up with the army of the Bey, but could not prevent him reaching the Deſart with all his baggage and forces. Buonaparté now took meaſures for the fortification of Salehieh and Belbeis. The diviſion of General Dugua, was ordered to proceed to Damietta, to take poſſeſſion of it, and to ſubdue the Delta. General Regnier's diviſion was poſted at Salehieh, in order to ſecure the ſubmiſſion of the province of Cherkie, and Buonaparté took with him the reſt of the troops to

Cairo: it was on his return from this expedition that he received intelligence, and alſo the details of the naval action of Aboukir. What his private feelings were upon that event, has not yet tranſpired; but he managed very adroitly to collect the ſcattered hopes of his followers, by the turn which he gave to it in public, and which his diſpatch to the Directory will beſt ſerve to elucidate.

BONAPARTE, *Member of the National Inſtitute, General in Chief, to the Executive Directory.*

Head Quarters, Cairo, August 19.

"CITIZEN DIRECTORS!

"On the 6th of July I wrote to the Admiral, to enter the port of Alexandria in twenty-four hours; and, if that was not practicable, to land immediately all the artillery and ſtores belonging to the army, and return to Corfu. I then left Alexandria, in the full aſſurance that in three days one of theſe meaſures would have been adopted. From that time, to the 24th of July, I received no intelligence whatever, either from Roſetta or Alexandria: a multitude of Arabs, collecting from all parts of the Deſart, kept conſtantly within 500 toiſes of the camp.

"On the 27th, at length, the report of our victories, and different poſitions, opened our communications. I received ſeveral letters from the Admiral, when I learned, with aſtoniſhment, that he remained at Aboukir. I then wrote to him again, that he muſt not looſe an hour, but either enter the port of Alexandria, or return to Corfu. The Admiral had written to me on the 20th of July, that ſeveral Engliſh frigates had come to reconnoitre, and that he was fortifying himſelf in expectation of the enemy at Aboukir. This ſtrange reſolution filled me with the moſt lively alarms, but the time was loſt; for the letter of the 20th did not reach me until the 30th of the ſame month. I diſpatched Citizen Julien, my Aid-du-Camp, with or-

ders not to leave Aboukir until he had ſeen the ſquadron under ſail. On the 26th the Admiral wrote to me that the ſquadron had retired, which meaſure he attributed to want of proviſions. I received this letter on the 30th, by the ſame courier: the 29th he wrote to me that he had, at length, heard of the victory of the Pyramids, and the taking of Cairo, and found a paſſage for entering the port of Alexandria; that letter I received the 1ſt of Auguſt. On the night of the 1ſt of Auguſt the Engliſh attacked him: on the moment he perceived the Engliſh ſquadron, he diſpatched an officer to appriſe me of his diſpoſitions and plans; this officer periſhed on the road. It ſeemed to me, that Admiral Bruyes was unwilling to return to Corfu before he had aſcertained the practicability of entering the port of Alexandria, and that the army, of which he had received no intelligence for a long time, was in a poſition, in which it would not be obliged to retreat: if, in this calamitous event, he was to blame, he has expiated his faults by a glorious death.

"The Deſtinies have been deſirous to prove, on this occaſion, as on ſo many others, that if they grant us a great preponderance on the continent, they have given the empire of the ſeas to our rivals; but, however great this reverſe, it is not to be attributed to the ficklenes of Fortune. She has not abandoned us: far from it; ſhe has favoured us in the whole expedition, in a degree ſurpaſſing all her former efforts. When I arrived before Alexandria, and learned that the Engliſh had been there a few days before, notwithſtanding the tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather, I threw myſelf on the ſhore, at the riſk of being wrecked. I remember at the moment when preparations were making for landing, there was a ſignal in the offing of an enemy's ſail. (It was the Juſtice coming from Malta). I exclaimed, "Fortune, would you abandon me? Only five days!" I marched all night: at break of day I attacked Alexandria with 3,000 haraſſed men, without cannon, and nearly without cartridges; and, in five, days I became maſter of

Rosetta, of Demenhour, that is to say, I was already established in Egypt.

"For these five days was the squadron sheltered from the enemy, however great might be their number? Far from it: it remained exposed during the remainder of the month of July: it received from Rosetta, about the 20th of that month, a supply of rice for two months. The English were for ten days in these parts. On the 29th of July it received intelligence of our entire possession of Egypt, and our entry into Cairo; and it was only after Fortune saw that all her favours were become of no further use that she abandoned our fleet to its destiny.

I salute you.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

The illiberal policy of imputing this blame to the gallant Brueys, after his death, appears as unjust as it was ungenerous, if the statement of the Admiral be true, that he detained the fleet "to gratify the wishes of the Commander in Chief." It was, perhaps, to atone for this paltry evasion, that Buonaparté was induced to write a letter of kindness and condolence to Madam Brueys.

"Your husband," said he, "was killed by a cannon ball in fighting nobly for his country: he died without suffering for a moment, and his death is envied by all good soldiers. I feel sincerely what you must suffer. The moment which separates us from the person whom we love is terrible; it insulates us from everything around us, and causes convulsions of agony: the faculties of the soul are almost annihilated, and we hardly preserve any connection with the world but in a dream. Men appear to us more cold, more selfish, more wicked, and more odious than they really are. We think in this situation, that if there was nothing which compelled us to live, it were better for us to die; but, after these first emotions, when we

preſs our infants to our breaſt, tears and ſentiments of tenderneſs awaken nature within us, and we live again for our children. Yes, madam, let me adviſe you to ſee them inſtantly; let them ſoften your heart to the tender impreſſions of melancholy; you will weep over them, you will watch over their infancy and cultivate their youth; you will ſpeak to them of their father, of your own ſufferings, and of the loſs which they and their country have ſuſtained. After having thus re-attached yourſelf to the world by filial and maternal love, endeavour to ſet ſome value upon the lively intereſt which I ſhall never fail to take in all that concerns the widow of my friend. Be ſatisfied that there are at leaſt ſome men in the world, how few ſo ever they may be, who deſerve to be conſidered as the only hope of the wretched, becauſe they feel for their ſufferings with ſenſibility.

2d Fructidor, 6th Year. BONAPARTE."

Whatever might be the deſign of the General in undertaking the expedition to Egypt, its real tendency was to lead to a new opinion of his own character: he had hitherto been regarded as an able warrior, and the vices of the conqueror had been obſcured by the valour of the ſoldier; but he ſeemed now to have entangled himſelf in a ſnare, from which he could only eſcape by practiſing all the arts of a cunning knave. The reflections he had caſt upon Brueys placed him in this light to the people of Europe, and his conduct in Egypt made much the ſame impreſſion upon his army there. A very curious ſpecimen of his ability to conceal his views in a multitude of words is to be ſeen, in a converſation which he entered into with Three of the Muftis in the Pyramids, and, which, though it diſplayed his ingenuity, ſerved to elevate him as an object of fear rather than of affection.

Accompanied by his Staff, and the Members of the National Inſtitute, attended alſo by a powerful guard, and conducted by ſeveral Muftis and Imans, the General proceeded to the Pyramids, where, after haſtily ſurveying the five inferior ones, his attention was principally directed to that called "Cheops."

After examining the different apartments, he ſeated himſelf in a flattened vault, on a cheſt of granite, eight feet long and four feet deep, amongſt his attendants, and invited the Muftis, Imans, &c. to be alſo ſeated, when he commenced a converſation with Sulaman, Ibraham, and Muhamed, the chief Muftis.

BUONAPARTE. God is great, and his works are marvellous; but we have here a grand production of the hand of man. What was the object of the individual who cauſed this pyramid to be conſtructed?

SULUMAN. He was a powerful King of Egypt, whoſe name, it is ſaid, was Cheops: he wiſhed to prevent the ſacrilegious from troubling the repoſe of his aſhes.

BUONAPARTE. The great Cyrus commanded, that, when dead, his body ſhould be left in the open air, that it might return to the elements. Doſt thou not think that he did better? Tell me, my friend, what is your opinion?

SULUMAN. *(inclining himſelf)* Glory to God! to whom all glory is due.

BUONAPARTE. Honour to Allah! Who was the Calif who cauſed this Pyramid to be opened, and troubled the aſhes of the dead?

MUHAMED. It is believed by ſome that it was Mahmoed, the commander of the Faithful, who reigned ſeveral centuries at Bagdad; others ſay,

it was the renowned Aaron Rafchild, (peace to his manes!) who expected to find treafures there; but when, by his command, entrance was made into this apartment, tradition fays, that he found mummies only, and this Infcription written on the wall:—*The impious fhall commit iniquity without recompenfe, but not without remorfe.*

BUONAPARTE. The bread ftolen by the wicked fills his mouth with fand.

MUHAMED *(inclining himfelf)* Thefe are the words of wifdom.

BUONAPARTE. Glory to Allah! there is no other God but God, Mahomet is his prophet, and I am his friend.

SULUMAN. The falutation of peace to the Envoy of God! Salutation to thee alfo, invincible Warrior, favourite of Mahomet!

BUONAPARTE. Mufti, I thank thee: the divine Koran is the delight of my foul, and the object of my contemplation. I love the Prophet, and I hope ere long, to fee and honour his tomb in the Holy City; but my miffion is firft to exterminate the Mamelukes.

IBRAHIM. May the angels of victory fweep the duft from thy path, and cover thee with their wings! the Mameluke has merited death.

BUONAPARTE. He has been fmote and delivered over to the black angels, Moukir and Quakir. God, on whom all things depend, has ordained that his dominions fhall be deftroyed.

SULUMAN. He has extended the hand of rapine over the land, the harvefts, and the horfes, of Egypt.

BUONAPARTE. And over the *moft beautiful* flaves, thrice, holy Mufti! Allah has withered his hand:

if Egypt is his portion, let him ſhew the leaſe which God has given him of it; but God is juſt and merciful to his people.

IBRAHIM. O moſt valiant among the children of Iſſa! (Jeſus Chriſt) Allah has cauſed thee to follow the exterminating angel to deliver his land of Egypt.

BUONAPARTE. This land was a prey to twenty-four oppreſſors, (rebels againſt the grand Sultan, our ally, whom God turn to his glory) and to ten thouſand ſlaves, from Canada and Georgia. Adriel, the Angel of Death, has breathed upon them: we are come, and they have diſappeared!

MUHAMED. Noble ſucceſſor of Iſander! (Alexander) honour to thy invincible arms, and to the unexpected thunder which ſprings from thy warriors on horſe.

BUONAPARTE. Doſt thou believe thunder to be the work of the children of men? Doſt thou believe ſo? Allah has placed it in my hands, by his meſſenger, the Genius of War.

IBRAHIM. We perceive in thy works the great Allah; who has ſent thee: couldſt thou have conquered, if Allah had not permitted? The Delta, and all the neighbouring countries, reſound with thy miracles.

BUONAPARTE. A celeſtial car will aſcend, by my command, to the abode of the clouds, and the lightening will deſcend to the earth, along a metallic wire*, the moment I ſhall bid it.

SULUMAN. And the great Serpent, which ſprang

* This ſublime quackery means nothing more, in intelligent language, than an air balloon, and an electric conductor!

from the base of the Pillar of Pompey, on the day of thy triumphant entry in Scanderish, and which remained withered at the socket of the pillar, was that not also a prodigy effected by thy hand?

BUONAPARTE. Lights of the age! you are destined to see yet greater wonders than these; for the days of regeneration are come.

IBRAHIM. May the divine Unity regard thee with the eye of predeliction, adorer of *Issa!* and render thee the support of the children of the Prophet.

BUONAPARTE. Has not Mahomet said, that every man who adores God, and performs good works, whatever may be his religion, shall be saved?

SULUMAN, MUHAMED, IBRAHIM *(reclining themselves)* He has said so.

BUONAPARTE. And, if, by an order from on high, I have moderated the pride of the Vicar of Issa (the Pope) by diminishing his terrestial possessions, in order to amass for him celestial treasures, was it rendering glory to God, whose mercy is infinite?

MUHAMED. *(with an air of hesitation)* The Musti of Rome was rich and powerful, we are poor Muftis.

BUONAPARTE. I know that you are poor; be without apprehension, for you have been weighed in the balance of Balthazar, and, you have been found light. Does this Pyramid, then, really contain no treasure that you know of?

SULUMAN. *(his hands on his breast)* None, my Lord! we swear by the holy city of Mecca.

BUONAPARTE. Unhappy, thrice unhappy! those who seek for perishable riches, and covet gold and silver, which are like unto dust!

SULUMAN. Thou hast spared the Vicar of *Issa*, and hast treated him with clemency and goodness.

BUONAPARTE. He is an old man whom I honour. May God accomplish, when they shall be regulated by reason and truth: but he is to blame in condemning to eternal fire all the Mussulmen. Allah defend us from intolerance!

IBRAHIM. Glory to Allah, and to his Prophet! who has sent thee into the midst of us to rekindle the faith of the weak, and to open to the faithful the gates of the seventh heaven.

BUONAPARTE. You have spoken my wishes, most zealous Mustis! be faithful to Allah, the sovereign Ruler of the seven marvellous heavens, and to Mahomet, his Vizir, who traversed all the celestial mansions in a single night. Be the friends of the Francs, and Allah, Mahomet, and the Francs, will recompense you.

IBRAHIM. May the Prophet himself cause thee to sit at his lefth-hand, on the day of the resurrection, after the third sound of the trumpet.

BUONAPARTE. "He that hath ears to hear let him hear!" The hour of political resurrection has arrived for all who groan under oppression. Mustis, Imans, Mullahs, Dervises, and Kalenders! instruct the people of Egypt, encourage them to join in our labours, to complete the destruction of the Beys and the Mamelukes: favour the commerce of the Francs in your country, and their endeavours to arrive at the ancient Land of Brama. Let them have storehouses in your ports, and drive far from you the Islanders of Albion, accursed among the children of Issa! such is the will of Mahomet. The treasures, industry, and friendship of the Francs shall be your lot, till you ascend to the seventh heaven, and are seated by the side of the black-eyed houris, who are endowed with

perpetual youth and virginity. Repoſe under the ſhade of Laba, whoſe branches preſent of themſelves to true Muſſulmen whatever their hearts may deſire.

SULUMAN. *(inclining himſelf)* Thou haſt ſpoken like the moſt learned of the Mullahs. We place faith in thy words: we will ſerve thy cauſe, and God *hears us*.

BUONAPARTE. God is great, and his works are marvellous: the ſalutation of peace be upon you, THRICE HOLY MUFTIS!

The Reader will hardly diſcover anything in this bombaſtic chit-chat, but a conteſt between cunning and craft; yet it is pretty evident that the deſign of the General was to out-wit the prieſts, but he failed in the attempt.

CHAPTER II.

Desaix pursues the Mamelukes under Murad Bey, and has different Engagements with them.—Battle of Sediman.—Anecdote of a dying French Soldier.—His Army being afflicted with Opthalmia, he collects the Miri, and returns to Cairo.—Buonaparté requires Dgezzar Pacha to dismiss the Mamelukes from Acre, which he refuses, and puts the French in Irons.—Buonaparté arranges a Plan of Taxation; establishes a Commercial Company, an Institute, and various Manufactories.—Employment of the Savans.—Massacre at Cairo, and Death of the Cheriff Coraime.—Buonaparté arrives at Suez, and visits Mount Horeb, in search of the ancient Canal.—He returns to Cairo to prepare for the Expedition to Syria.

BUONAPARTE having established his head quarters at Cairo, Desaix was ordered to pursue Murat Bey, and complete the conquest of Upper Egypt, where Murad had taken refuge after the battle of the Pyramids. On the 25th of August he struck his camp before Cairo, and set out, together with a flotilla, which was to convoy his march.

Being informed that some barks, with provisions and ammunition for the Mamelukes, were at Reshuaseh, Desaix, notwithstanding the inundation, marched to surprise them; and, after crossing eight canals, and the lake Baten, where the water was up to their armpits, came up with the convoy at Benaseh, drove away the Mamelukes, who were to defend it, and made it a prize. Desaix rejoined his division at Abu-jairjeh, marched to Tarutel-shereef, where he

took his poſition at the Canal of Joſeph, to enſure a communication with Cairo. Arrived at Siut, whence the Mamelukes had fled, he endeavoured to overtake them at Beneady, whither they had retired, with their women and baggage: but they having finally joined Murad Bey in Faium, Deſaix returned to Siut, in order to redeſcend to Tarut-el-ſhereef, where he embarked his troops on the Canal of Joſeph. Arrived off Manſura, on the borders of the Deſart, he, at length, met Murad Bey, who kept up ſuch a well-directed fire upon the French on their landing that Deſaix ordered them to return on board, intending to fall down to Minkia. The Mamelukes, encouraged by this counter-march, having harraſſed the barks, ſome companies of grenadiers chaſed and diſperſed them: the debarkation being effected the troops formed into ſquare battalions, and reſumed the road to the Deſart, accompanied by the barks as far as Manura; Murad Bey was at four miles diſtance; while his rear guard harraſſed the French he gained the heights, where they ſaw his army open with all the magnificence of the eaſt. With teleſcopes they diſcovered his perſon, blazing with gold and gems; he was ſurrounded by all the Beys and Kiaſchefs under his command. The French marched directly forward; and the ſplendid cavalry they had to oppoſe, cannonaded by the only two pieces which could follow it, ſtopped, turned, and fled to Elalamon. In following the French left their barks; they wanted food, and were obliged to return for biſcuit: Murad thought they had fled; he attacked them with the moſt determined bravery, and actually carried away two priſoners from the very points of the bayonets, and night alone delivered the French

from their valour. On regaining the barks the French loaded with biſcuit, and, after taking a little repoſe, recommenced their march.

During this time Murad Bey had got a ſtranger to arrive in his army, with news that the Engliſh had deſtroyed ſuch of the French as were at Alexandria; that the inhabitants of Cairo had maſſacred thoſe who occupied that city; and that there remained in Egypt only the handful of ſoldiers whom they had put to flight the evening before, and whom they ſhould preſently annihilate: a feſtival was therefore given, and a ſham battle, in which the French were repreſented by Arabs, who had orders to ſuffer themſelves to be beaten. The feaſt concluded with the murder of the two priſoners who had been taken two days before.

Deſaix having learned that Murad was at Sediman, preparing to give battle to the French, reſolved to commence the attack as ſoon as he had left the open and cultivated country. The night the Mamelukes paſſed in carouſals within their camp. At daybreak they formed a hollow ſquare, flanked by two leſſer bodies: ſoon after, the French ſaw Murad at the head of his Mamelukes, and eight or ten thouſand Arabs. A valley lay between the two armies, which muſt be paſſed before the French could attack. Scarcely did Murad ſee them in this diſadvantageous poſition before he ſurrounded them on all ſides, charging them with a bravery approaching to fury. The cloſeneſs of the French body rendered the number of his men of no advantage to him: their muſketry did much execution, and repulſed him for the time. The Mamelukes ſtopped, wheeled, as if to fly, and ſuddenly fell on one of the ſquadrons,

which they completely levelled with the ground; all who were not killed, by a ſpontaneous movement, fell down: this movement uncovered the Mamelukes to the center of the French, who made uſe of the inſtant to give a heavy fire: Murad ſtopped and wheeled once more; ſuch of the ſquadron as were not killed came into the ranks. The French were again attacked by the whole body, now no longer with the criés of victory, but rage; valour was equally manifeſted on both sides; the barrels of the French muſkets were hacked by the ſabres of the Mamelukes: their horſes were precipitated on their ranks; the animals fell back at the ſight of the bayonets; their riders turned them, hoping to force the ranks by their kicks: the French, who knew their ſafety depended upon their union, preſſed together without diſorder, and attacked without engaging; carnage was everywhere, but there was no battle: the unſuccefsful attempts of the Mamelukes had driven them wild with fury; they threw their arms, which could not otherwiſe have reached the French; and, as if this battle were to have been the laſt, the troops were aſſailed with firelocks, piſtols, battle-axes, and ſhowers of ſabres. Thoſe who were diſmounted crept under the bayonets, endeavouring to cut the ſoldiers legs; the dying collected their ſtrength and ſtill ſtruggled with the dying, and their blood, which mingled while it drank the duſt, did not appeaſe their animoſity. One of the French fallen had cloſed with an expiring Mameluke, whom he held by the throat: "How," ſaid an officer, "in your ſituation, can you be guilty of anything ſo ſhocking?"—"You," replied he, "talk very

well at your eafe; I have but a moment to live, and I wifh to enjoy it."

Murad had fufpended his attack; he had committed great flaughter among the French, in falling back he did not fly, and the fituation of the French, was not improved: fcarcely had he retreated when he opened a battery that had hitherto been concealed, and which at each difcharge carried off fix or eight foldiers. For a moment the French were loft in confternation and ftupor; the number of the wounded increafing every inftant. To give the word to march was to bend to the courage of the enemy, and expofe themfelves to every fpecies of danger; not to do fo was to give unneceffary extent to the evil, and expofe the whole army to deftruction; to march was to abandon the wounded, and to abandon them was to give them up to certain death. Defaix, diftracted with the alternative, remained motionlefs a moment: at length, fays a French philofopher, "the general intereft commanded him how to act, the voice of neceffity drowned that of the unfortunate wounded, and the army began its march." Murad threatened to harafs his retreat; the only choice was now between victory and abfolute deftruction; the extremity of this fituation fo united the intereftS of all, that the army, as one individual, determined to force the battery: the light artillery, commanded by the ardent Tournerie, did prodigies; and while they difmounted fome of the guns of the Mamelukes the grenadiers came up; the battery was abandoned, the cavalry, panic-ftruck, fell back, wheeled, fled, difappeared

immediately, and left the French without an enemy to oppose.

Never was there a battle more terrible, a victory more brilliant, or a catastrophe more unexpected. The advantage gained by the battle of Sediman was, that of detaching the Arabs from the Mamelukes; but much was to be added on the score of the impression of the French tactics on the fears of the latter. Murad Bey, no longer hoping to oppose, or even to resist, the French army, reduced them to the occupation of following a light and rapid enemy, who, in his ceaseless precaution, left it neither repose nor security.

In addition to the sufferings to which the army had been exposed, it was now afflicted with opthalmia, arising out of its long marches and great fatigues, followed by nightly watchings, in a climate where the humidity of the air repels perspiration, so as to produce a flux, that attacked either the eyes or the bowels.

Having now in some degree established his power, Desaix thought himself able to dispute with Murad Bey the miri, "or territorial tax," of the rich province of Benesuef, which having partially accomplished, he returned to Cairo, to provide himself with the means of again taking the field.

At the time the French entered Upper Egypt the villages were so numerous and so contiguous, that, standing in the midst of the plain, M. De Non counted twenty-four by which he was encompassed; they were not disfigured by hills of rubbish, but so planted with spreading trees that they seemed to present the pictures which travellers have given of the habitations in the islands of the Pacific Sea;

abundance and riches were everywhere to be seen.

At Djirjieh, the capital, the French found a supply of provisions, at very low prices; bread one sous the pound, twelve eggs for two sous, two pigeons three sous, a goose, of five pounds weight, twelve sous; and this the result, not of poverty, but of great abundance; for, after a stay of three weeks, when the wants of five thousand persons had increased the consumption and the money in circulation, the price of every thing remained the same. These were the people who were called upon by Buonaparté to believe that he had hazarded all the dangers of his voyage purely for the purpose of increasing their happiness, and to deliver them from oppressors! and posterity will not be surprised that these uncultivated Egyptians could not comprehend the advantages they should gain by paying the mir to the bayonet instead of the sabre. Denon says, that he saw a column of three hundred horsemen ordered out to levy the tax, and a requisition of horses and buffaloes: in this the French followed the custom of the Mamelukes; when he remarked, that, without ever refusing, they made use of various ingenious methods to delay for a few hours the moment of parting with their money. This our wise man treats as a strange want of gratitude—"they regretted their tyrants," he continues, "when they were called upon to repay their liberators!"

After the affair of Salehieh Ibrahim Bey had retired, with about 1,000 Mamelukes and his treasures, to Gaza, where he experienced from Dgezzar, Pacha of Acre, the most favourable reception; the

Pacha not only granted him an asylum, and protected the Mamelukes, but also menaced the frontiers of Egypt; Buonaparté, who yet pretended to be in friendship with the Porte, dispatched an officer by sea with a letter to Dgezzar, assuring him that the French were desirous of preserving the friendship of the Grand Seignior, and living in peace with him; but insisted that Dgezzar should remove Ibrahim Bey, and his Mamelukes, and afford him no further support. To this communication the Pacha made no answer, but, in great anger, commanded the officer to return, and ordered all the French at Acre to be put in irons.

No intelligence had been received from Europe since the action at Aboukir, as the ports of Egypt were closely blocked up by the English. Buonaparté had no official information respecting the issue of the negociation, which the Directory had agreed to open with the Ottoman Porte, relative to the expedition to Egypt; but all the accounts received overland announced that the English had availed themselves of the victory at Aboukir, to form an alliance between England, Russia, and the Porte, against the Republic. Buonaparté, considering that a combined operation would take place against Egypt on the side of Syria and by sea, had not a moment to lose, and he immediately determined to march into Syria, and afterwards to return to Egypt time enough to oppose the expected invasion by sea, which was not likely to take place till about the end of the following June. Such was the plan of operations which Buonaparté resolved upon, and which, without delay, he proceeded to execute, after organzing a novel system of government for Egypt, and

eſtabliſhing a new diſtribution of impoſts, on principles more productive to the French treaſury. At Cairo he eſtabliſhed a commercial company, in order to facilitate the exchange and circulation of all kinds of commodities. An Inſtitute was alſo founded, to which a library was attached, and a chemical laboratory was conſtructed. A workſhop, on an extenſive ſcale, was opened for all the mechanic arts: the making of bread and of various fermented liquors was ſoon brought to the neceſſary degree of perfection; ſaltpetre was refined, and ſeveral hydraulic machines conſtructed; whilſt ſcientific and literary men proceeded into the interior of Egypt, where they made many intereſting obſervations and important diſcoveries, with reference to geography, hiſtory, and natural philoſophy.

General Andreoſſy was ordered to reduce the country ſurrounding the Lake Menzale, the Peluſian Mouths, to ſecure the command of the lake, and to take an actual ſurvey of all theſe points, as well in a ſcientific as a military point of view. Accordingly, the General, on the 2d Vendémiaire (23d September) founded the roads of Damietta, of Bougaſie, and of thoſe near Bougan, as well as the mouth of the Nile, in order to determine the paſſes of the Boghaz, and the form of the bar.

General Andreoſſy, accompanied by Citizen Berthollet, afterwards proceeded to ſurvey the Lakes of Natron, ſituated in a valley more than two leagues broad; theſe lakes comprehend an extent of about ſix leagues. The General went into a large valley, not far from that of Natron, called the river San-ſeau; (without water) this valley is encumbered with ſand

its ſurface is about three leagues in diameter; there he found numbers of large trees entirely petrified: in the valley of the lakes were found ſeveral ſprings of very good water. The Natron there is of a very good quality, and would form a valuable branch of commerce.

The learned and ſcientific men who accompanied Buonaparté were employed in purſuits commenſurate to their reſpective knowledge and talents. Nouet and Mechaim determined the latitudes of Alexandria, Cairo, Salehieh, Damietta, and Suez. Lefevre and Malus ſurveyed the Moez; the former, together with Bouchard, accompanied General Andreoſſy in his ſurvey of Lake Menzale. Peyre and Girard formed a plan of Alexandria. Lanorey ſurveyed the Canal of Aboumanege, and directed the works on the Canal of Alexandria; Geoffroy examined the animals of the Lake Menzale, and the various kinds of fiſh found in the Nile: Deliſle inveſtigated the plants peculiar to Lower Egypt; Arnolet and the younger Champy were diſpatched to the Red Sea, to make mineralogical obſervations in that quarter; Girard was charged with the inſpection of the canals in Upper Egypt; Denon was ſent to Fayum, and afterwards to Upper Egypt, in order to delineate the monuments of antiquity. Conte ſuperintended the workſhop deſtined for the mechanic arts; he alſo conſtructed windmills, and ſeveral machines till then unknown in Egypt: Savigny made a collection of inſects of Syria and the Deſart; Beauchamp and Nouet compiled an almanack, containing five calendars; viz. thoſe of the French Republic, and of the Romiſh, Greek, Coptic, and Muſſulman Churches; Coſtaz edited a journal: Four-

rier, ſecretary to the Inſtitute, was appointed French Commiſſioner at the Divan; the whole corps exerted itſelf in forming new eſtabliſhments or making new diſcoveries.

While the preparations were making for the expedition to Syria Buonaparté aſſiſted the *ſavans* in their occupations, and regularly attended the ſittings of the Inſtitute, where each member gave an account of his proceedings. He determined to viſit the Iſthmus of Suez in perſon, and to ſatisfy all doubts relative to the canal, which he regarded as one of the moſt important yet obſcure problems in hiſtory; he had made arrangements for this intereſting journey, when a calamitous and unexpected event obliged him to poſtpone it.

Tranquillity had hitherto been maintained in the city of Cairo; delegates from all the provinces deliberated with calmneſs on the propoſitions made by the French Commiſſioners, Monge and Berthollet, reſpecting the definitive organization of the Divans, the civil and criminal code, the eſtabliſhment and diſtribution of impoſts, and on the various objects of adminiſtration and general police. Suddenly the French thought they ſaw ſymptoms of an approaching inſurrection: on the 21ſt of October, at daybreak, numbers of the inhabitants were aſſembling in different parts of the city, particularly near the great moſque; but whether for any religious ceremony or any peculiar cuſtom the jealouſy of the conquerors would not permit them to enquire. General Dupuis, the commandant, advanced, at the head of a ſmall force, in order to diſperſe them, but he was reſiſted, and, together with ſeveral officers and ſome dragoons, killed, by a numerous party of the

people. The insurrection immediately became real; all the French who fell in with the insurgents were massacred, and a number of Arabs appeared in force at the gates of the city. The *generale* was beat, the French troops flew to their arms, and forming in moveable columns, they marched, taking several pieces of artillery with them, against the Insurgents; the latter, in general, repaired to the different mosques, which they barricadoed, and whence they directed a galling fire against the soldiers: the mosques were soon forced, and a terrible combat ensued between the parties, in which the French seemed to be actuated only by feelings of desperation and revenge. Cannon, placed on several of the adjoining eminences, and those of the citadel, were fired on the town, and the great mosque, and other stations of the Insurgents, were set on fire. The sanguinary spirit of the French was directed against the hoary-headed Coraim, formerly arrested and sent on board the L'Orient. Admiral Brueys, too generous to let an innocent man suffer in such a contest as that of the 1st of August, had put him on shore before the battle. The old man was found at Rosetta, and the vindictive spirit of Menou ordered him to be sent to Buonaparté at Cairo, where he fell into the hands of the heroes of the Po and the Pyramids, who tore him to pieces, and paraded his head about the streets upon a pole, *àlamode-à-Paris!* At length, after many hundreds of innocent people had been massacred, Buonaparté issued, what he affected to call a general pardon, and on the 23d of October, order was entirely restored: but such measures were taken as impressed all parts of the country with the terror of his arms.

Having previouſly diſpatched General Bon acroſs the Deſart, with two pieces of cannon, to attack Suez, Buonaparté, accompanied by a part of his etat-major, and ſome members of the Inſtitute, and eſcorted by a corps of cavalry, on the 26th of December arrived at that poſt, General Bon having obtained poſſeſſion thereof without difficulty. The following day was ſpent in viewing the town and coaſt, and ordering ſuch works and fortifications as Buonaparté deemed neceſſary for their defence. On the 28th of December he paſſed the Red Sea at a ford near Suez, and returned the ſame evening to Suez, but it being high-water, he was obliged to aſcend to the extremity of the Red Sea: this route was rendered the more tedious in conſequence of the guide having loſt his way in the marſhes, from which they extricated themſelves with difficulty, being at one time up to the middle in water. The magazines at Suez clearly indicated, that it had once been the *entrepôt*, of a conſiderable commerce; but at preſent only barks of ſmall draught can enter the port; at the extremity of a ſandbank, which projects a league into the ſea, frigates may anchor: this bank is dry at low water, and would admit of the erection of a battery, to protect the anchorage and defend the road.

Buonaparté encouraged commerce by various uſeful regulations, and ſuperſeded the old rates and duties by others leſs onerous and ſevere; he alſo adopted meaſures for ſecuring the ſafe carriage of goods from Suéz to Cairo and Belbeis, and made ſuch diſpoſitions as were likely, in a ſhort time, to reſtore Suez to its ancient ſplendour. During the ſtay of Buonaparté four ſhips arrived there from

Jedda, and the Arabs of Tor came to ſolicit the friendſhip of the French. Buonaparté quitted Suez on the 30th of December, and proceeded in a northerly direction. At the diſtance of two leagues and a half he diſcovered ſome veſtiges of the entrance of the Canal of Suez, the courſe of which he followed nearly four leagues; the ſame night he reſted at the fort of Adgeroud; on the 1ſt of January, 1799, he arrived at Belbeis; and on the 3d he advanced to the Oaſis of Mount Horeb, where he thought he diſcovered ſome farther remains of the Canal of Suez: this was near its entrance into the irrigated and fruitful lands of Egypt. He traced the courſe of the canal for the ſpace of ſeveral leagues, and perſuaded (or, as Berthier ſays, convinced) by this ſecond diſcovery, he ordered Citizen Peyre, engineer, to repair to Suez, and to ſet out, with a ſufficient eſcort, to take a geometrical level of the whole courſe of the canal—an operation which would finally reſolve the problem of its exiſtence.

On his return to Suez Buonaparté learned that Dgezzar had taken poſſeſſion of the Fort of El-Ariſh, which defended the frontiers of Egypt; this fortreſs, ſituated about two days journey from Cathieh, and ten leagues within the Deſart, was occupied by the advanced guard of the Pacha. Certain of being attacked, no other alternative remained to Buonaparté than that of an anticipation of farther hoſtilities. He quitted Suez immediately, but, previous to his coming to Cairo, he proceeded to Salehieh, near which were cantoned the troops deſtined to form the advanced guard of

the expedition to Syria; these he ordered to march without delay; he then proceeded with the utmost expedition to Cairo, where he exerted the greatest celerity in the preparations, and in collecting the main body of the army, for the expedition to Syria.

CHAPTER III.

Lowering Aſpect of French Affairs.—Hopes of the Confederate Kings.—Cupidity of the French Government.—The Weakneſs of the Engliſh Cabinet loſes St. Domingo.—Its Conduct contraſted with that of France.—The immenſe Advantages which France obtained from the Puſillanimity of the Engliſh Government towards fraudulent Neutrals.—The French Ambaſſador quits Vienna.—Auſtria indicates a renewal of the War.—Operations commence in Italy under General Mack.—War declared againſt Naples and Sardinia.—Piedmont ſeized by the French.—Rome taken by the Neapolitans, and Leghorn by the Engliſh.—Mack defeated, and the French re-enter Rome.—Ehrenbreitſtein ſurrenders to the French.—Armiſtice with Naples.—The King goes on board the Engliſh Fleet.—Commotions in Naples.—Fury of the Lazaroni.—The French ſtorm the City of Naples.—Dreadful Carnage.—The City gained by the French declaring for St. Januarius.—The Lazaroni declare for the French.—Naples declared a Republic.—The Directory caſhier Championnet.—Republic of Lucca overturned.

BEING now about to dare his fortune amidſt the ſandy deſarts, and having thus exiled himſelf from the theatre of his conqueſts and his glory, it is neceſſary that our Hiſtory ſhould return to Europe, and enquire what effect was produced by the abſence of that Hero, to whoſe talents alone both his friends and enemies ſeemed to aſcribe all the ſucceſſes of the French arms.

It will be recollected, that, having made peace with the Emperor of Germany, Buonaparté had left

France negociating a treaty with the princes of the Empire at Raſtadt; and, at the moment that the congreſs opened, the power of the Republic appeared to be ſo perfectly conſolidated, that no reaſonable doubt could be entertained but that the Empire would be induced, from mere panic, to accept of peace upon almoſt any terms; but the departure of Buonaparté, with the flower of his army, inſpirited the allied courts, and the deliberations were protracted with a view of taking advantage of events. The hungry policy of the Directory ſoon gave the enemies of France a pretence for gaining all the time they deſired: it had been ſtipulated that the fortreſſes of Kehl and Caſſel ſhould be ſurrendered by the French to the Imperial troops, and that, in return, that of Ehrenbreitſtein ſhould be given over to a French garriſon.

The French had not ſuffered the ſmalleſt ſuccour to be conveyed into Ehrenbreitſtein, but they refuſed to allow the Auſtrians to take poſſeſſion of the other fortreſſes: upon theſe inferior points, therefore, a great length of time was conſumed, which a wiſe policy would have employed in *ſecuring* a peace ſo honourable as that of Campo Formio, even at the expenſe of ſuch an inconſiderable ſacrifice. The members of the congreſs were encouraged, by the final ſubjugation of Ireland, to hope that England would be able to find reſources for a new confederacy if the negociation ſhould fail, and the ſupplying Ehrenbreitſtein was made the only point of diſcuſſion. Things were in this ſtate, when news arrived in Europe, that the French fleet had been deſtroyed by Admiral Nelſon, and the old hopes of

marching triumphantly to Paris revived in the bosoms of all the conquered sovereigns. Intelligence of that great event reached St. Petersburgh, overland, nearly as soon as it reached London; and the Emperor Paul evinced a disposition to act more effectually against the Republic than the Empress Catharine had done, whom he had lately succeeded. Rumours were industriously circulated that Great Britain had agreed to subsidize Russia, and that the French frontier would soon be attacked by all the barbarous tribes of the North; but though the French Government retained all its pride and violence, it had lost all its energy and promptitude: the Directory saw the storm gathering, but the cupidity and avarice of its members had so disgusted the country with their government that they dreaded the consequences of acquainting the people with their danger.

In the meantime, the naval triumphs of the English had totally annihilated the commerce of France; and the merchants, who had hitherto found their way into the Mediterranean markets, saw, with the most manifest chagrin and rage, the productions of their own country depreciated for want of buyers, whilst those of their rivals increased so much in value that the English merchants grew rich with the same rapidity as *they* went to ruin. These grievances were increased by the rapacity of all the ministers and officers of the Directory, who, uncertain as to the duration of their power, seemed all determined to make the most of their situations while they held them. To such an extent was the practice of bribery and corruption carried, that, in a negociation with the United States, the merits of which it would be foreign to the nature of this Work to discuss,

the minister, Talleyrand, offered, by the intervention of secret agents, to settle the point in dispute for a sum of money, as a present, which it was proposed that the American ambassadors should remit to a confidential friend of his. No justice, therefore, was dispensed by the government either to friends or enemies, either to its own people or to strangers; and the spirit of insurrection began again to shew itself in La Vendee, to an extent that led the hostile courts to calculate upon a powerful diversion in their favour from the people of France themselves.

The policy of the English Government was not marked with greater wisdom than that of France, for, though the gallantry of its commanders and people was unequalled by any age or nation, the acquisitions of the warrior were rendered nugatory by the imbecility of the cabinet. Although this position is demonstrated by almost every act of the government from the commencement of the war, it had not been more mischievously illustrated than it was in the case of St. Domingo. This valuable island, the principal scene of the horrid and sanguinary contest that ensued in consequence of sudden dissolution of slavery, had been subdued, and taken possession of by the British arms, at an expense of millions of money and thousands of lives; and none of the inhabitants were inclined to return under the French government; but it now appeared that, in the late negociation, the restoration of the island was insisted on by France, without any resistance on the part of the British ministry, which indicated an intention of retaining it as a part of the British Empire; and the colonists became unwilling to preserve their loyalty for a government that was likely

to barter them away to thofe who would punifh them in proportion to the length of time that they exercifed it. The People of Colour and Negroes were joined by the French Royalifts, and, altogether, haraffed the Britifh forces under General Maitland fo much, that he found it neceffary to act fome time upon the defenfive; and, at laft, for want of fufficient fupport, to enter into a treaty for the evacuation of the place with Touffaint Louverture, a black of extraordinary talents and accomplifhments, who had arrived at the rank of general and commander in chief, in a place where he had formerly been a flave!

The Britifh Government attempted to juftify themfelves for the lofs of this valuable poffeffion upon this pretence, that it required a much larger force to keep it than it was worth; and the people of England were, as they are to this day, ignorant enough to believe it. The truth is, that it was a neglect of the means that they had then in their power, and a pufillanimous facrifice of the intereftS of the Englifh people to thofe of neutral nations that prevented them keeping poffeffion of St. Domingo, as well as all the colonies belonging to the enemy. It was, in fact, becaufe the Englifh Government had not the wifdom nor the courage to ufe the weapons that circumftances put into their hands. The talents of Mr. Pitt's parliaments went very little beyond the power of judging when he defired them to fay, aye, or no; and their courage was confined to the fingle point of making their people content to work for fmall wages and pay high for commodities; but, in no one folitary inftance, did one of thofe parliaments, either out of

love to its own country, or hatred to its enemies, muſter courage enough to meet a DECREE of the *French Convention* by an ACT of the *Engliſh Parliament*; and yet there never was one hour, during the whole war, in which the Engliſh Parliament had not more power to carry its acts into effect than the French Legiſlature had to execute its decrees. When the French entered any territory that they choſe to keep, they ſimply paſſed a decree, that henceforth it ſhould belong to France; and they maintained their right upon the ground of their own decree; it was, indeed, a new principle of policy, but the dignity of the Engliſh nation required that the organ of its authority ſhould not have conceded to France the excluſive right of conquering by decrees. By a decree the National Convention declared that Savoy ſhould, for the future, be called France; and, by the ſame omnipotent power, they tranſported the boundaries of France to the banks of the Rhine and the Mediterranean; twelve millions of people were thus made certain of their future deſtiny; and, as the law was unchangeable, it ſecured as much of obedience as the force of arms. Juſtice demanded that the Government of England ſhould have conſulted the intereſt of its people by conquering at the ſame cheap rate. All communication within the reach of the Britiſh fleet ſhould have been cut off from the dominion of France by an Engliſh act of Parliament, in the ſame manner as the ſtates within the reach of the French armies were annexed to it by a decree of that Government. The naval power of England was as great as the military power of France; and, therefore, there was no principle upon

which that government could claim the reſtoration of any of her colonies againſt an Engliſh law, until ſhe diſclaimed the ſovereign authority of her own decrees; but the Britiſh miniſtry ſurrendered at diſcretion, and at once yielded to the enemy the right of recovering what he had loſt and keeping what he had taken. This daſtardly conduct led to the evacuation of St. Domingo, and permitted the enemy to recover his commerce and his ſtrength, whilſt the people of England were burdened with the expenſe of protracted war, becauſe their government had not ſpirit enough to adopt meaſures ſufficiently bold to ſhew that they were *determined* to conquer.

The conceſſions of the Britiſh miniſtry began, ſhortly, to operate more powerfully in favour of French commerce and French intereſts than any effort, either of the government or arms of that country, could have done. The Americans, and other neutral nations, unbluſhingly opened a trade for falſe papers, by which means they undertook to cover all French property as their own, and thus to inſure the trade between France and her colonies, in defiance of an expenſive navy, maintained by the labour and induſtry of the Britiſh people, and falſely pretended to be kept up for the purpoſe of weakening the power of their enemy by deſtroying his commerce.

This trade became tolerated at laſt, by the miſnamed delicacy of the Britiſh Court of Admiralty, which ſeemed to be awed more by the pſuedo philoſophy of a party in the Engliſh parliament, called Foxites, than a fear of ſacrificing the intereſts of its country to the bluſtering demands of injuſtice.

General Bernadotte
(now)
Duke of Ponte Corvo, &c.

Men, in ſome of the neutral ſtates, known by the Engliſh cruiſers to be not worth a hogſhead of tobacco, were found, ſuddenly, to become poſſeſſed of ten or twelve ſhips, and cargoes of goods ſailing from the enemies ports, as their own purchaſes. When ſuch ſhips were taken, if, in any fit of drunkenneſs or careleſſneſs, the ſham owners had omitted to procure the perjuries or falſe papers neceſſary to blind an Engliſh judge, they were condemned; but, as this ſeldom happened, eleven out of twelve of ſuch ſhips were reſtored to their fraudulent owners, although detection in one ſingle inſtance proved that he was a hired perjurer in the ſervice of our enemies.

So much hope was now entertained by miniſters of gaining all their objects by kindling a new war upon the Continent, that they diverted their means from their own element, and directed them afreſh to a military cruſade. An event had happened at Vienna which threatened to contribute its ſhare towards embroiling Auſtria and France anew. General Bernadotte, the French ambaſſador at the court of Vienna, on taking up his reſidence there as the miniſter of Peace, choſe to hang an immenſe flag out at the window of his hotel, which was a novelty that excited the notice of the paſſengers, and collected a number of people before his door. This was a ſpecies of inſult that our inoffenſive Republican could not ſubmit to; for certainly an ignorant rabble had no right to make any obſervation upon the conduct of an ambaſſador of "the Great Nation!" although he had a right to do what he pleaſed to tempt their obſervation. Still the crowd wondered what the flag meant, and, in ſpite of the threats of the

Bobadil ambaſſador, continued to ſtare: the French ſervants came out to drive them away; they reſiſted: the General declared that he was attacked in his palace, charged the court of Vienna with a conſpiracy to inſult him, would liſten to no explanation, demanded his paſſports, and returned home in a violent rage, to perſuade his countrymen that they muſt inſtantly revenge the injury done to their ambaſſador by a declaration of war. Upon this point the Directory opened a ſeparate negociation with Auſtria, which, owing to the frivolity of the diſpute, was not of a nature to arrive at any concluſion: this, therefore, like the negociation at Raſtadt, was interrupted by the certainty that a very large army of Ruſſians was on its march, and would attempt to reach the French frontier through the Auſtrian States. Before the Directory could obtain any ſatisfactory explanation from the Emperor upon this head, the Auſtrians took poſſeſſion of the Griſons, without any intimation to Switzerland of its intention; and the King of Naples, at the ſame time, advanced towards the North, with an army well provided with every requiſite for taking the field. It was now impoſſible for the Directory to retain its apathy any longer; and, notwithſtanding the dilapidated ſtate of the finances, every branch of the war department was put into the greateſt activity. No leſs than 600,000,000 were wanting, and among the ways and means of raiſing this ſum, 30,000,000 were propoſed to be levied as a tax upon ſalt: in the whole budget there was not, perhaps, a leſs oppreſſive one; but our readers will recollect, that it would have been extremely unpopular, as it ſerved to recal the infamous *gabelle*, on which account it was rejected by the

Council: but, if it was rejected, it found a ſubſtitute in another, equally oppreſſive, the impoſing a duty on all proviſions and merchandiſe brought into the cities and towns of the Republic.

The Neapolitan troops collected on the frontiers of the Roman ſtate, which, on account of an affray, wherein a French officer had been killed, the Directory had, at the beginning of the year, revolutionized and declared a republic: this circumſtance was conſtrued into an attack on an ally of France, and the offence of Naples was aggravated by the fleet under the command of Admiral Nelſon having met with a friendly reception, whilſt Mangouvit, the Secretary of the French Legation, had been refuſed, and the ambaſſador, Lacomb St. Michel, treated with contempt. General Mack declared that Rome was to be protected by his army, at the expreſs command of the government of Naples, and ordered General Championnet to evacuate the territory, which Championnet declared to be a violation of the rights of nations; and, in a letter, to General Mack aſſured him, that he ſhould be reſponſible for the events of a ſanguinary conteſt, which would certainly be injurious to the cauſe of humanity.

General Mack returned an anſwer, purporting that the Neapolitan troops had paſſed the frontier the day before, with the King in perſon at their head, to take poſſeſſion of the Roman territory, which he affirmed had been revolutionized and uſurped ſince the treaty of Campo Formio, and never acknowledged by his Sicilian Majeſty, or his ally the Emperor of Germany. He concluded with a peremptory demand to evacuate the Roman Republic, without vio-

lating that of Tuſcany, and that a refuſal would be conſidered as a declaration of war, his Sicilian Majeſty being well able to enforce the juſt demands addreſſed to him in his name. Such was the negligence of the Directory that the French army did not exceed 10,000 men at the time when no fewer than 76,000 troops entered the frontiers! The magazines were totally empty; they had no arms, artillery, or place properly ſtored with proviſions; and at Civita Vecchia, it is ſaid, there was not ſo much powder as would ſerve to fire at a Barbary corſair, which at that period menaced the port!

When the Legiſlative Body of France received intelligence reſpecting the entry of the Neapolitan troops, it declared war againſt the kings of the Two Sicilies and Sardinia: the King of Sardinia was eaſily diſpoſſeſſed of his continental dominions, as the French had been in poſſeſſion of the citadel of Turin for a conſiderable time. No oppoſition was made to the invaſion of Piedmont, for the King delivered up the country into the hands of the Republicans, by virtue of an act, which he ſigned in the month of December. The King declared himſelf to have renounced the exerciſe of all authority, and commanded his ſubjects, of every deſcription, to be obedient to the proviſional government which the French were about to eſtabliſh. The Piedmonteſe army was charged to conſider itſelf as a part of the French army of Italy, and obey the Republican general as if he were himſelf.

The principal part of the Neapolitan troops entered Rome on the 29th of November, and the combined fleets of Great Britain and Naples got poſſeſſion of the harbour of Leghorn: the French retreated towards Civita Caſtellana, after leaving a

garrison in the Castle of St. Angelo. The commander was summoned to surrender, in which General Mack declared, that if the Neapolitan troops were fired at he would put to death the sick troops in the hospitals, one soldier for every shot; but this cowardly flourish did not last long, for the Republicans, having received strong reinforcements, engaged the army of Naples, and captured 12,000 prisoners, together with 100 pieces of cannon and 20 pair of colours. The defeat was so entire that Rome was immediately abandoned by the King, and the victorious troops of the Republic again took possession of it: they immediately proceeded towards Naples, and an armistice, upon any terms whatever, was humbly implored by General Mack. He urged the inclemency of the weather and the wretched state of the roads as motives for his demand; but General Championnet informed him, that as his victorious troops had bid defiance to every obstacle of which he complained, they would make no halt till they had entered the city of Naples in triumph.

A year had nearly been spent by the plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, when the march of the Russian troops, and the extensive military preparations on the part of that empire, caused the plenipotentiaries of the Republic, on the 1st of January 1799, to declare, that if the troops were permitted to enter the territories of his Imperial Majesty, it would be considered by France as a direct infringement of neutrality.

About this time the French forces, which had left the right side of the Rhine, re-crossed that river, and took a position on the side of Germany, in opposition to the remonstrances of the Count of Metternich,

who prefented frefh memorials refpecting that perpetual topic the raifing the fiege of Ehrenbreitftein: but as it was more than probable that the deliberations at Raftadt would not be of long continuance, the Republic deemed itfelf fully warranted in preparing for the worft. The forces ftationed between Cologn and Mentz, on the left bank of the Rhine, united themfelves with the befiegers of Ehrenbreitftein on the right bank of the river. After a gallant refiftance of eighteen months, it was, at length, compelled to furrender, by the iron hand of famine. The ftores found there by the Republicans confifted of 192 pieces of artillery, 100,000 balls, bombs, and grenades, 1,000,000 of cartridges, 450,000 weight of powder, 5,000 mufkets, and a vaft number of other articles.

During thefe tranfactions, General Championnet, who, in the end of laft year, was encamped at St. Germano, removed his head quarters to Torre, where he was made acquainted with the fuccefs attending the exertions of General Rey againft Gaeta, which had been captured, together with vaft quantities of magazines and provifions of every kind, and a large train of artillery and ftores.

The French commander in chief was unacquainted with the ftate of the centre and left wing of his army, under General Duhefme, who was as ignorant of the deftiny of the right wing: he had forced his way, by the coaft of the Adriatic, through a country everywhere interfected by rivers, and well defended by the troops of the enemy. He croffed the Salinello and the Trentino, although with inconfiderable lofs; and, on reaching Vomano, he found it had been croffed by the enemy, with a view to

put a period to the profecution of his march. He drove them from their pofition, but, perceiving they intended to make a regular attack, he marched forward to the river on the enfuing day, effected the paffage of it in their prefence, and, after throwing a body of troops with the utmoft rapidity on their flank, his victory was decifive, and, he compelled the right wing of the Neapolitans to retreat. Notwithftanding its fucceffes, the French army was affaulted in all directions by an armed peafantry and people, and was otherwife in very great diftrefs, when a deputation of Neapolitan officers, authorifed by the Viceroy, waited upon General Championnet, propofing to deliver up the city of Capua, on condition of being granted an armiftice, as the bafis of a permanent treaty. It is a fingular circumftance that Championnet fhould have treated this propofition with contempt, at a time when he, himfelf, was aftonifhed at receiving fuch a propofition. He called in all his pofts from mere neceffity, refolving either to conquer or perifh, when the arrival of the former deputation was announced by the found of a trumpet, it having received more extenfive powers. It cannot be imagined that Championnet was long in forming a refolution, fince, in his ftate, it would have been madnefs to hefitate, and obftinacy would have been his ruin.

An armiftice was concluded between the Republican General and the Prince of Milliano, in which it was ftipulated that Capua fhould be delivered into the hands of the French, with all its artillery and ftores; the army of Championnet was to poffefs the country from Acerra before Naples; Benevento, and

along the Adriatic, was to form a line of demarkation; the ports belonging to Naples, were to be evacuated by every ſhip belonging to any power at war with the Republic; and, finally, the Neapolitans were to pay to France 10,000,000 of livres. Hoſtilities were not to commence till three days previous notice ſhould be given by either of the contracting parties. The King, with the royal family, had fled to Palermo ſome days before, having committed the management of affairs to M. Pignatelli, as viceroy, and he now went on board the Britiſh ſhips, together with his court, attended by the Ruſſian, Auſtrian, and Britiſh miniſters.

The Republican General, in a ſecret note to the Directory, which went along with the account of the capitulation of Capua, deſcribed the melancholy ſituation of his army, declaring that he was completely ſurrounded on all hands, deſtitute of proviſion, ammunition, and articles of every kind; ſo that the loſs of a battle would have been the ruin of his whole army, and that a victory, even before Capua, would have availed him nothing. He conceived the poſſeſſion of this place as of the utmoſt importance, ſince he found in it an ample ſupply for the army of all its wants, and greatly facilitated the conqueſt of Naples. He conſidered an armiſtice granted to a people ſo replete with perfidy as no more than a ſtratagem of war, and that the one he had now concluded, was of ſuch a texture as could be broken by the Neapolitans whenever they deemed it proper; and, in fine, that he had no doubt of effecting the conqueſt of Naples before or about the time at which the news of the ſurrender of Capua could reach the Directory, as he poſſeſſed the means of cor-

responding with the disaffected party, which was very numerous. The King was so dissatisfied with the treaty that he refused to continue the armistice, and, in the most reproachful language, told the Viceroy, "that he must have forgotten that he had a master when he signed such a treaty for the sake of preserving the capital." On the contrary, the Directory passed the severest censures upon General Championnet, for agreeing to any armistice till he had subdued the capital and the whole kingdom.

The partisans of the French were very numerous among the principal families, and, as the King opposed the treaty, it was insinuated that he had abdicated the kingdom. The French commander exerted himself with activity in communicating with the malcontents; for which purpose he appointed a committee to obtain a circumstantial account of the real state of affairs in the city, and at last the revolutionary party resolved to rally round the standard of the French Republic, having received the strongest assurances of protection and assistance from Championnet, in effecting the subversion of the old government. When payment was demanded of the 10,000,000, which had been promised at the capitulation of Capua, the most violent commotions ensued, and the French agent very narrowly escaped assassination. The Lazzaroni, who were true royalists, now came to an open rupture with the Republicans, and mutual destruction was the order of the day. The lovers of monarchy traversed the streets like madmen, having got possession of arms; but in vain did they invoke the names of the King and their beloved St. Januarius, for the Republican cause was

finally triumphant. The Neapolitan army was terrified at the furious behaviour of the Lazzaroni, and unacquainted with their mode of fighting; for which reason they determined to throw themselves, as deserters, on the generosity of the French. Championnet afforded them protection, and thus the army of Naples was reduced to nothing!

The royalist party considered General Mack in the light of a traitor, who, having been acquainted with his imminent danger, and completely deserted by his soldiers, found there was no time to deliberate, and, therefore, sent an officer before him to crave protection from General Championnet. So hotly was he pursued that he reached the camp of the French Commander almost as soon as the officer, and was received by him with kindness and affability. He received a passport, and was escorted to Milan. This so enraged the Lazzaroni, that they hastily collected all their forces in a body, and, like a whirlwind, poured their vengeance on the advanced posts of the Republicans at Ponte Rotto, defeated the advanced guards, and pushed forward to the very line of the French army, where vast multitudes were put to death, and the rest took refuge in flight.

The fury of these wretched beings was for some time restrained by the interposition of the Prince of Molliterno, who had the address to be chosen their general; but, when they understood that he wished to negotiate with the French, they deserted his standard. Duke Della Torre, and his brother Clement Filomavino, became victims to their fury, being first murdered, and then burnt to ashes, although they were never known to be inimical to monarchy.

As the Lazzaroni had made an attack upon the vanguard of the Republican army, Championnet considered it as a ſignal for the attack of Naples.

Two diviſions ſucceeded in gaining the heights in its vicinity; two other got poſſeſſion of Capo di Monte, that they might be enable to correſpond, by ſignals, with the fort of St. Elmo, which they underſtood had fallen into the hands of Prince Molliterno and his friends. The centre of the firſt diviſion was planted between Capo di Chino and the city, while the vanguard took a poſition near the ſuburbs. The Eaſt of the city was taken up by the left diviſion, and had a communication with the right, or North-weſt, by means of a bridge, under General Ruſea. The artillery was commanded by General Eble, and ſo advantageouſly poſted as to give it the entire command of the city. Everything was now ready for action, and the ſoldier waited with impatience for the ſignal of his commander, to pour upon the devoted city an inceſſant ſtorm of Republican thunder. But Championnet felt a heſitation in giving it, as he was anxious to ſpare the effuſion of human blood, could he have found any other means of bringing to his purpoſe thoſe, who were aſſembled in the city, to the amount of 60,000, with a reſolution of defending it to the laſt extremity.

General Championnet intimated the humanity of this intention by a proclamation, and ſent it to the magiſtrates by the chief of a ſquadron; but as the mob were now the magiſtrates, the meſſenger was received by a volley of muſketry; the pommel of his ſaddle was ſhattered by a ball, and, after attempting in vain, to make them underſtand the propoſitions of the

general, a ſecond volley compelled him to return. As general Championnet fondly hoped that the appearance of his army would reduce the Lazzaroni to ſubmiſſion, he had purpoſely deferred the aſſault till the enſuing day; but their frequent ſallies during the night, and the fire they kept up, convinced him that they could be ſubdued by nothing but force. Thoſe who had got poſſeſſion of St. Elmo acquainted the general in the night time that they only waited his commands to open a dreadful fire upon the city. The two battalions on Capo di Monte, received orders to march during the ſilence of the night, and, taking the ſhorteſt poſſible route, form a junction with the garriſon of St. Elmo, to unite their colours with thoſe of the patriots, and immediately diſcharge upon the city the whole of their artillery. This was to be the ſignal for general Eble to roll his thunder upon it, and the whole army inveſting the city were, at the ſame time, to riſh impetuouſly forward, and bear down every thing before it.

The conflict ſoon became bloody, and victory was long uncertain. Although the ſhades of night overtook them the firing ſtill continued, when the Republican troops having formed into two diviſions, and being exhauſted with fatigue, one of them continued to charge on the gallant enemy, while the other lay down to obtain ſome repoſe, amidſt a diſmal heap of carnage and ruins. At the dawn of the ſucceeding day the battle continued to rage with fury, and it was ſtill dubious who would be the conquerors. To terminate the conflict as ſoon as poſſible, general Championnet gave orders to force the paſſages to the Caſtello Novo, and the Fort del Camine, at the point of the bayonet. A diviſion was

ordered to ſeize on the palace, by penetrating into the heart of the city, and another to form a junction with the garriſon of St. Elmo, already in poſſeſſion of part of the city.

At this dreadful period, while all was yet horror and uncertainty, it ſtruck the French general that he might make a ſucceſsful attack on the ſuperſtitious ideas of thoſe ſavage people, and, therefore, he publiſhed an account of his ſacred regard for their great St. Januarius! This had the deſired effect; the converſion of Championnet flew like lightning through the city, and wrought greater miracles in his favour than the thunder of his artillery. One of their chiefs put himſelf at the head of the Republicans, delivered an oration to his terrific ſoldiers, commanded them to ſtop their firing, and to lay down their arms. He was liſtened to with reverence, and obeyed with alacrity. This produced a happy termination of hoſtilities, and the horrors of war were ſucceeded by acclamations of fanatical joy.

The Lazzaroni relinquiſhed their former political ſentiments, and became the ſtrenuous advocates of liberty and equality. They began to plunder the royal palace, which but a little before they would have defended with the laſt drop of their blood, and it required the interference of their ſuppoſed convert, General Championnet, to prevent them from committing the moſt extravagant exceſſes. He took poſſeſſion of all the forts, left the command of the place to General Dufreſne, and encamped his army on the heights around the city of Naples. He prudently diſarmed the fickle and furious inhabitants, a ſalutary meaſure, which produced the greateſt order

and tranquillity, and prevented the public peace from being disturbed. The army, which had wrought such miracles under its able commander, was afterwards denominated "The Army of Naples." This name the General, in person, proclaimed to his troops, the intelligence being accompanied by the shouts of the multitude, and the tremendous thunder of cannon. The flames of Mount Vesuvius added an awful grandeur to the ceremony, an eruption of which had not taken place for five years before: this had hitherto been considered by the superstitious inhabitants as an indication of the displeasure of St. Januarius, but it was now viewed as a token of his regard.

The heads of the clergy, and many of the nobles, celebrated the entry of the French. Te Deum was sung; the Commander in Chief congratulated the Neapolitans on their being free; the abolition of monarchy was decreed, the state declared a Republic; and the government was entrusted to the Neapolitan patriots, under the instruction of the French army.

General Championnet, with all his principal officers, were, unaccountably, cashiered by the Directory, about this time, as traitors; and General Serrurier, who had shewn himself worthy of such employers, by having seized the little republic of Lucca, overturned its government, and laid it under a contribution for 2,000,000 of livres, received the command of the army of Naples.

CHAPTER IV.

Minorca taken by the English.—The Spaniards defeated at Honduras.—The English blockade Malta.—Disposition of the Hostile Armies at the opening of the Campaign of 1799.—Jourdan defeated by the Archduke Charles.—Shameful Conduct of the Directory towards General Jourdan.—Massena occupies the Grisons.—Surprising March of the French over the Alps.—They completely Defeat the Austrians.—Laudohn joins General Bellegarde, and they Retreat before the French, who get Possession of the Passes of the Tyrol.—General Jourdan recalled.—Defeat of the Austrians by Moreau.—Scherer, who succeeded Jourdan, defeated.—The French retreat to Peschiera.—They are defeated near Verona, by General Kray.—The French signally defeated near Roverbello, and forced to retreat to Brescia.—The Austrians decline continuing the Negociation.—The Three French Plenipotentiaries ordered to quit Rastadt: they are attacked by Austrian Hussars, after leaving the Town, and Two of them murdered.

It must not be forgotten, that whilst the French were making such rapid progress in securing the entire conquest of Italy, a ray of wisdom seemed to have found its way into the cabinet of St. James's; and the people, who had suffered Buonaparté, and an immense armada, to escape unobserved, now began to see the importance of obtaining a rendezvous for the British navy in the Mediterranean. An expedition was fitted out, under Admiral Duckworth and General Stuart, to take Minorca, an island belonging to Spain, but a port of infinite value to

England, as well to afford an opportunity of watching the port of Toulon, as to provide a commercial *depôt* whence a contraband trade in Britiſh goods would be carried on with the Southern French and Spaniſh coaſts to a vaſt amount. The Bri iſh landed without oppoſition; and, though there is little reaſon to doubt but they would have fought with their uſual valour, if they had found any enemy to oppoſe, their courage was not tried upon the occaſion, for the gentlemanly Spaniſh General, who governed the iſland, directed no force againſt the invaders, but his own doubt, whether, in point of honour, he could conſiſtently ſurrender to the Britiſh commander, unleſs it were demonſtrated to him that he was attacked by a ſuperior force. The beſt demonſtration that the Britiſh could give was the thunder of their own cannon; and, after receiving a few ſhot, the poltroon capitulated without reſiſtance!

The Spaniſh government were not more fortunate in an attack on the Bay of Honduras, conducted by the Governor of Yucatan, for he was totally defeated by the Britiſh; and the Engliſh arms achieved another victory, equally important, in the capture of Goza, which was followed by the blockade of Malta, ſo recently wreathed among the laurels of our enemy. Thus the miniſtry ſeemed conſcious of the overſight they had been guilty of in leaving the enemy unreſtrained ſo long; and, having permitted him once to eſcape them, they were about to recover that falſe ſtep, by taking care that his fleet of tranſports ſhould find no place of ſhelter, and, conſequently, ſhould never return. This policy was perfectly in uniſon with the intereſts of England, but it was particularly judicious at a time when the return of thoſe forces

to France, would have encouraged them for the approaching war.

The winter of 1798-9, was so remarkably severe, that the Russians and Austrians were prevented from joining till early in the spring. The French had reasons for procrastination, equally urgent. By authority of the Directory, the plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, issued a proclamation relative to the state of affairs, in which it was asserted that the government wished for peace, and would give orders to their armies to fall back to their former positions, on condition that his Imperial Majesty would cause the Russian troops to evacuate his dominions. This proclamation was followed by an address from General Jourdan, who had crossed the Rhine, in which he breathed the very same sentiments; and the ambassadors at Rastadt wished the Emperor to be assured, that the late movements of the French armies were not be viewed as forerunners of intended hostilities, but wholly occasioned by the march of the Russians, already complained of. Without concluding the negociation, the war was decided on by both parties, and the possession of Switzerland by the French gave them such an advantage, that the government could not fail determining to act on the offensive. To prevent the junction of the Russian and Austrian army on the Adige it was necessary to attempt dislodging the latter from the station which it occupied on that river. The advantage resulting from success in this attempt, was inseparably connected with victory in an attack on the frontiers of the Tyrol; to acquire which, the passes of the mountains must be possessed by the Republicans, and the attention of the Austrians diverted, by

drawing the greater part of their forces towards the Danube. In covering this attack, the right wing of Jourdan's army (now called the army of the Danube) was to be supported by that of Switzerland: this extensive plan was the result of uncommon talents, and its different parts were executed with incredible dispatch. To make themselves masters of the Grisons, and the valley of the Rhine was an interesting point, to enable them to penetrate successfully into that of the Inn: the centre of the French army was to make the chief effort, for which it was abundantly strong, and their movements on the Rhine began with their left, at the greatest distance from what they intended to make the theatre of war.

The French availed themselves of their positions in Switzerland that they might speedily reach the mountains of the Black Forest, on the East side of the Rhine, and gain the heights bordering on the Lake of Constance, to give unity and strength to their attacks. The Archduke, in the mean time, passed the River Lech on the 5th of March, on the right side of which he had collected the greater part of his forces. His first attention was turned to Ulm, which he sufficiently garrisoned and stored with provisions, as he intended that it should flank the right wing of his army; and having marched his troops, which were on the left side of the Danube, by the way of Donawerth, he fixed his head-quarters at Memmingen. His left wing was at Kempten, his centre at Memmingen, and his right at Ulm, by which means he could act on the offensive as well as defensive, and support the operations of the left wing in the Voralberg, as he continued to advance. General Stzarray commanded on the left of the Danube, to keep a

watchful eye on the movements of Bernadotte, and Nauendorf was chief of the vanguard of the main army. The total of the Republican forces in Swabia and Switzerland amounted to 80,000 men, while those of Auſtria, from the Tyrol to the left bank of the Danube, were 110,000. The French and Auſtrian forces on the Rhine were nearly equal, amounting to about 25,000 each.

As the Republican commander in chief found that the Imperial army was inclined to keep a medium line between the Lake of Conſtance and the Danube, inſtead of marching towards that river he availed himſelf of the opportunity thus afforded him of ſeizing on ſuch poſitions as would ſecure his communication with the army of Switzerland. The two formidable armies of the hoſtile powers occupied an extent of country from the banks of the Danube to the Adriatic Gulph. The firſt acts of hoſtility took place on the right of the two French armies, which were oppoſed to the main body of the Auſtrians and the diviſions ſent to the left under the Archduke's command. The head quarters of General Maſſena were eſtabliſhed at Alſtatten, in the Rheinthal, who commanded an army of 45,000 men, menacing the entrance into the country of the Griſons. While Jourdan drew his forces towards the Lake of Conſtance, General Maſſena proceeded to Sargans, and ſummoned Auffenberg to evacuate the Griſons; with this ſummons the Imperial General refuſed to comply, and, therefore, Maſſena gave orders to make a vigorous, but feigned, attack on Feldkirch, in order more effectually to conceal his operations, and thereby prevent Hotze from grant-

ing the neceſſary aid to General Auffenberg at Coire.

At the ſame time he ſent a diviſion to turn Coire by the heights, and aſſault the bridges on the forks of the Rhine, above the town of Reichnaw, five miles farther up the river than Coire. The centre of his army at the ſame time croſſed the river, got poſſeſſion of Baltzars, and thus cut off the communication between Feldkirch and the Griſons. After a formidable oppoſition the poſts of Meyenfeld and Zollbruck were forced; the fort of Lucienſteg was carried by aſſault, and the French having forced their way acroſs the river at Ragatz, and got poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Holdenſtein, General Auffenberg being almoſt ſurrounded, and in a ſituation which precluded any aſſiſtance, ſurrendered Coire, and his whole diviſion became priſoners, to the amount of 7,000 men. While General Maſſena was in poſſeſſion of the Griſons he made an unſucceſsful attack upon Feldkirch, and then ſent a diviſion of his army towards the ſources of the Inn: the adverſe armies were diſtant from each other but one day's march; both had an eye on the intereſting poſt of Feldkirch, which the Archduke was anxious to reinforce, and render ſuperior to aſſault, and which General Jourdan was eager to obtain before the farther proſecution of his march. The French General was, uneaſy at the ſuperior force under the immediate command of the Archduke, which amounted to 66,000 men, and his own to no more than 38,000. He frequently ordered General Bernadotte to reinforce him by effecting a junction; but as that officer had to contend with Stzarray's army in his front he was under the neceſſity of diſobeying.

The French attacked the entrenchments of Feldkirch with determined bravery, on the 12th of March, but were driven back with considerable loſs. On the 14th they made a ſimilar attempt, but with no better ſucceſs: this led the Archduke to repoſe the utmoſt confidence in his defenſive line of 18,000 men, which covered his left wing, and conſequently he puſhed forward his van-guard towards Stockach. Jourdan wanted reinforcements; but as he entertained little doubt of the ſucceſs of General Maſſena againſt Feldkirch, he fell back on Engen, united his whole force, called in the detachments on the rear of his left, and ſeemed to wait the attack of the Auſtrian army between Hohen-Twiel and Dutlingen: it was at laſt impracticable to avoid a general engagement, as the contending armies obſerved each other ſo near that it was with difficulty their advanced guards could perform their reſpective manœuvres. The advantages which would reſult from the firſt attack General Jourdan was unwilling to loſe, and the plan he had formed for himſelf ſuggeſted the conſtant neceſſity of acting on the offenſive. His van-guard proceeded to Pfollendorf on the 18th of March, where he fixed his head quarters, and the left wing of his army commanded by General St. Cyr, was ſtationed on the left bank of the Danube.

The Archduke, on the other hand, had his van-guard on the heights of Sulgau and Alhauſen, his head quarters being at Schaundorf: the main body of his army was in the rear, ſomewhat leſs than one day's march, the two being only ſeparated from the Republican army by the ſmall river of Oſtrach and a valley. In this ſituation, General Jourdan ſent an

officer to the camp of the Auſtrian van-guard, to enquire whether or not the diſpatches expected by the French Directory from the court of Vienna had arrived; and, on being informed that they had not, he proclaimed the armiſtice at an end. As was to be expected, this intimation was ſucceeded by a ſevere attack, during which the van-guard of the Imperialiſts was compelled to retreat beyond Kloſterbeuren, where it received reinforcements from the main body of the army. On the ſubſequent day the Archduke returned the charge, with a view to force Jourdan to quit his poſition before Pfollendorf, when he ſucceeded in compelling him to retreat towards Engen and Stockach: it appears to have been Jourdan's object to draw the Archduke from the Lake of Conſtance, to facilitate the execution of the plan he had concerted with Maſſena, and aſſault the entrenchments of Feldkirch both in front and rear. To defeat this intention, which the Auſtrians had anticipated, General Hotze left the defence of the place to the officers under him, and marched on to Landau, to check the operations of Jourdan's right wing. No ſooner had Hotze marched from Feldkirch than Maſſena availed himſelf of the diverſion made by General Jourdan on the Danube, and attacked that fortreſs with redoubled fury.

As the retrograde manœuvres of General Jourdan in the face of the Archduke left to Maſſena but one favourable opportunity prior to the return of General Hotze, he made a deſperate attack upon Feldkirch in different points, with a body of grenadiers, forming a junction with the troops of Oudinot. This attack was conducted by Maſſena in perſon, who was driven back with conſiderable loſs,

and that ſuſtained by the enemy was not inferior to his own. General Oudinot was obliged to recroſs the Rhine, occupying the important ſtation at Rheineck, at the confluence of that river into the Lake of Conſtance, which induced Hotze to reſume his poſition at Feldkirch. Fluſhed with his late ſucceſſes, the Archduke continued to purſue Jourdan's army, which had fallen back to its formidable poſition beyond Stockach; and as he was certain that he could, if driven to extremities, ſecure his retreat by the way of Schaffhauſen, he determined to make another attempt to draw the Archduke from the Lake of Conſtance.

With this view he reſolved to hazard a general engagement, ſince neither the rapidity of his own marches, the ſucceſs of Maſſena in the Griſons, nor the reiterated aſſaults of that general againſt Feldkirch, had hitherto been able to produce their intended effects. At this period he received a command from the Directory to croſs the Rhine, and force his way into Germany, to which he replied on the 2d of March, that the army which he commanded, did not exceed 66,000 men, including thoſe in Switzerland, and on the Danube, while he had to contend with an army of not leſs than 150,000, in which caſe, he declared to the ignorant or perfidious Directory, that a conteſt with ſuch ſuperior numbers might make him fall with glory, but it was impoſſible to expect reaping any laurels. The defeat of General Jourdan's army excited great alarm at Paris, and drew down upon the Directory the juſt execrations of the people, while they, in their turn, endeavoured to throw the blame upon Jourdan, whom they repreſented as unqualified for ſuch an

undertaking. The hatred of the populace was, in consequence, divided, one party censuring the Directory for employing such a man, and another vehemently exclaiming against General Jourdan for his supposed presumption in accepting of such a charge. But when that gallant officer made public his own plan of the campaign, it remained no longer a secret on whom the blame should devolve: he proposed that his army should be 180,000 strong, that of Italy 140,000, and another of observation, consisting of 40,000 men, and 80,000 for the occasional services of the interior, which was a judicious distribution of the 400,000 men, for whom funds had been voted by the legislative body: these he was promised, but did not receive more than a third of them.

When he took the command of the army of the Danube he could muster no more than 47,300 effective men, and his magazines were a name without meaning. He was to have 6,000 cavalry, and he was put off with 800! So numerous and melancholy were his disappointments that he dispatched an adjutant-general to Paris with an offer of his resignation, and received a letter in a style that was truly ridiculous. The Directory observed, that superior numbers could never dismay an army which had Jourdan for its commander, and, being led on by the Conqueror of Fleurus, they would defy opposition. This was the *ne plus ultra* of insult, and could only originate from ignorance or treachery; they promised everything and accomplished nothing!

The detachments from that division of the army which was commanded by Massena, sent towards the mountains of the Grisons, near the sources of the Inn and Adige, succeeded in securing this key to

Germany and Italy, which was of the laſt importance to the introductory operations of the Republican army in that country. Caſa Bianca entered the Upper Engadin on the 13th of March, and, for the ſecurity of his left flank, prior to his penetrating farther into the mountains, cauſed a diviſion of his troops to march upon the town of Bormio, and engaged the troops commanded by the Auſtrian general Laudohn on the 16th, compelling him to retreat into the Wintſchgau, where, being aſſiſted by General Bellegarde, he maintained his ſtand. The frontier of the Tyrol had not, as yet, been invaded, and General Laudohn oppoſed the enemy in the Munſterthal with 5,000 men, guarding the defiles towards the Engadin and Valteline, and ſecuring that paſſage into the Valley of the Adige denominated Fenoſta. He preſerved a communication with the poſts of Nauders and Maltinſbruck by the Valley of Malſheide, or Malſerheid, where he was oppoſed to General Lecourbe, who, meditating an attack on the whole of theſe poſitions, marched upon Nauders and Martinſbruck with his diviſion, and gave orders to the troops under the command of Deſolles and Liſou to attack the town of Munſter.

In their march to this town the Republicans bade defiance to difficulties which would have arreſted the progreſs of thoſe who guide ſtrangers over the Glaciers: they climbed the Wormſer, or Bormiojoch, formerly called Mount Juga, reputed one of the higheſt mountains of the Julian Alps, dividing the ſources of the Adda and the Adige, in ſpite of the eternal ſnows and ice with which it was covered: they turned the defiles of the entrenched Auſtrians by mere ſurpriſe, as it was never conceived that the Republicans would ever take ſuch a tremendous route. From the ſum-

mit of this awful mountain they might be ſaid literally to roll down into the valley, which they reached in ſafety, and, having collected his troops, General Deſolles ſurpriſed Glurentz and Tauſers, which Laudohn had ſtrongly entrenched; the oppoſition was deſperate on the part of the Auſtrians, but the valorous Republicans compelled them to ſurrender. General Liſon had penetrated on another ſide and flanked Nauders, while Lecourbe forced the paſſage of Martinſbruck; all the Auſtrian troops, baggage, and cannon, fell into the hands of the French.

During theſe tranſactions Laudohn, with a ſmall number of infantry, forced his way through the chain of the Republicans above Glurentz, making a precipitate retreat into the Valley of Venoſta: he there formed a junction with General Bellegarde; but their joint forces were incapable of reſiſting the impetuoſity of the French, and they retreated to the protection of Bolzen, where they made a demand for the Tyrolean militia. The victors marched on to Schluderns, and got poſſeſſion of the head of the two great vallies in she Tyrol; and, while in poſſeſſion of thoſe important poſts, they might be ſaid to have achieved a victory, the moſt difficult as well as the moſt eſſential for the future operations of their armies on either ſide of the Alps.

At this period the whole of Italy, from the Alps on the South-weſt to the mountains of Tyrol on the North, and from Venice on the Eaſt to Sicily on the South-eaſt, was in the hands of the French; but before the campaign was opened there that of the Danube was terminated by the retreat of Jourdan. In the opinion of many this country might have enabled the Directory to arreſt the progreſs of the combined

powers, and carry the theatre of war into the heart of Germany. Piedmont, Tuſcany, and Naples, had already abandoned the abſurd idea of diſmembering France, and warmly eſpouſed the ſentiments of liberty and equality: this might have produced wonderful effects, under the ſkill and diſcipline of French ſoldiers, had they been headed by a man of integrity and knowledge. The Directory had, however, conferred the chief command of the army of Italy upon Scherer, an ex-miniſter of war, whom they had been obliged to diſmiſs from that office in compliance with the ſentiments of the people.

The army of Jourdan was obliged to abandon all idea of offenſive operations, and, uniting with that of Maſſena, took, as the ſtrongeſt line of defence that could poſſibly be formed, the left bank of the Rhine, from the Griſons towards the French territory; General Jourdan was recalled and Maſſena was appointed commander in chief. In this ſituation of affairs the Republicans attempted to drive the Auſtrians, now under the command of General Melas, from their poſition on the Lower Adige, and compel them to fall back upon the Brenta. The Ruſſian army had not made its entrance into Italy, and the French endeavoured to accompliſh their object before this force arrived. Although Scherer was as odious to the ſoldiers as his conduct while war miniſter had been to the Pariſians, the army was animated by the moſt enthuſiaſtic hopes. The French troops were aſſembled on the frontiers of the Ciſalpine Republic, behind Peſchiera and Mantua, and the Auſtrians, under General Kray, arranged along the left ſide of the Adige behind Verona and Porto Legnago. The Republicans made an attack on the whole of the

Auſtrian line, which extended from the Lake of Garda to the Adige, in a South-eaſt direction, on the 26th of March. One diviſion threatened Porto Legnago, being the flank of the Auſtrian army's left wing, two marched towards Verona, and three endeavoured to turn the poſts of the right of the Imperial line, reaching to Bardolino on the Eaſt of Lake Garda, protecting the entrance of the valley between Rivoli and La Chiuſa.

The intention of this movement was to gain poſſeſſion of Verona in the rear, on the left ſide of the Adige, being at the ſame time attacked in front, with the hope of compelling the Auſtrians to abandon it. This was the plan of General Moreau, who led on the three diviſions under Generals Delmas, Serrurier, and Grenier, and it had the good fortune to be crowned with the happieſt ſucceſs; the entrenchments and redoubts were carried; they made themſelves maſters of Rivoli, croſſed the Adige, and, after proceeding to La Chiuſa, they cut the Auſtrian line, ſome of which retreated as far as Peri, after ſuſtaining very conſiderable loſs. Scherer, with the centre of the Republican army, attacked the outpoſts of Verona, and an attempt was made at the ſame time againſt St. Lucia and St. Macimin, the former of which was carried, but the latter ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of the Auſtrians, after it had been captured and recaptured ſeveral times: the Republicans were alſo unſucceſsful in their aſſault on Porto Legnago, where one of their generals loſt his life, aud they were obliged to retreat towards Mantua.

The day after theſe reverſes General Scherer abandoned the field of battle, after a number of trifling efforts, the diviſions under the command of General

Moreau being obliged to re-croſs the Adige and retreat towards Peſchiera, as their being cut off would otherwiſe have been unavoidable. This retrograde movement was undertaken, very reluctantly, by General Moreau, who ſtrongly, but vainly, remonſtrated with Scherer reſpecting his keeping his poſition before Verona. Kray drew ſtrong detachments to the ſupport of his left, but, on diſcovering that the greater part of the French forces were deſtined to act againſt his centre and right wing, he ſent them back to Verona, not doubting but the Republicans would renew their aſſaults upon that quarter. He was ſo far diſappointed, as the troops continued on the field of battle, and a mutual ſuſpenſion of arms took place about three days afterwards, for the purpoſe of enabling them to bury their dead. On the ſucceeding day the whole poſts of the Auſtrian army were attacked by General Scherer, who ſucceeded in driving General Kaim from his poſition before Verona, threw bridges over the Adige, and ſent the diviſion of General Serrurier to the left ſide, who drove the Auſtrian rear-guard half a league beyond Verona. As this attack would have reduced Verona and Legnago to an inſulated ſituation, General Kray reſolved to defeat it, and was completely ſucceſsful: the Republicans loſt 7,000 men, which determined Scherer, on the 1ſt of April, to draw off the left wing of his army from the Lake of Garda, having firſt ſtrongly garriſoned Peſchiera and collected his forces between the Adige and the Tartaro, a poſition not purely defenſive, ſince it menaced the paſſage of the Adige between Verona and Porto Legnago, and alſo protected Mantua. The Republican right wing was encamped before Porto Legnago, the reſt of the army occupying

the camp of Magnan, and the general's head quarters were at Isola della Scala. In the meantime the Austrian army crossed the Adige, took possession of Castelnova, masked Peschiera, and pushed on the left of the French army; thus advancing upon Mantua with a rapidity equal to its retreat before Buonaparté during the former campaign.

To prevent his left flank being turned, Scherer resolved to attack the Austrians on the 5th of April, in every direction, with three columns. The divisions of Victor and Grenier were ordered to take St. Giacomo below Verona, and the van-guard, under general Delmas, was directed to march to Dosso Buono, to cover the attacks of the centre columns under Moreau, and Serrurier was appointed to the attack of Villa Franca. General Kray, on the contrary, made preparations to prevent Serrurier from passing the Adige, as he had reason to apprehend that this was his object, from an intercepted order, of which he gained possession; he, therefore, bent his march against the French with a similar mode of attack, and formed three strong columns, under Mercandin, Kaim, and Zoph. A general engagement ensued, which was fought with desperate valour, and lasted a considerable time. Moreau penetrated the centre of the Austrians and fought under the very walls of Verona, every point being obstinately disputed. Villa Franca was often taken and retaken in the course of the day, but yielded to the valour of the troops commanded by Serrurier. The left column of the Austrians, under General Zoph, afterwards flanked and defeated the right of the Republicans, which rendered the conquest decisive. The night was spent by both parties on the field of battle, now covered with the

bodies of the ſlain, and next day General Scherer retreated towards Roverbello. The blockade of Peſchiera was the conſequence, and the Auſtrians made the beſt uſe of the advantages they had acquired.

Since the French were forced to abandon the idea of a junction between the armies of Italy and Switzerland by the way of Bormio, in the Griſons, it became an intereſting object with the Auſtrians to penetrate into the valley of the Oglio, by which movement they would have it in their power to flank the poſition of the French army, and compel it to adopt defenſive meaſures between the Oglio and the Adda, to protect the Milaneſe: but theſe operations were unavailing ſo long as General Scherer could act on the Adige in an offenſive manner. The whole of the French poſts, from Bormio in the Griſons, to the Lakes of Idro and Garda, on the 8th of April, were attacked, and forced to retreat to Breſcia,

Such were the poſitions of the French and Auſtrian armies in the Northern parts of Italy when the firſt columns of the Ruſſian troops made their appearance; and the farce of negociation being now no longer neceſſary, Count Metternich, the Auſtrian plenipotentiary, on the ſame day, gave notice to the Congreſs that the war had broken out again, and that, by an imperial decree, the miniſter of the Empire was recalled. The French miniſters exclaimed againſt this decree, proteſting that they would repair to Straſburg, and there wait a renewal of the negotiations, and receive whatever overtures of peace might be preſented to them. The Grand Chancellor wrote to Colonel Barbaczy, the military commander, ordering a ſafe eſcort for the French plenipotentiaries; at a

late hour in the evening he wrote the ambaſſadors, that they muſt quit the territory in twenty-four hours, as the circumſtances of the war forced him to the adoption of ſuch a meaſure. The perſons of ambaſſadors have ever been deemed ſacred by the moſt uncultivated nations, if ever the principle be abandoned all communication between ſtate and ſtate will be at an end, and the world will return to its ancient barbariſm: yet there is ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe that the combined powers diſhonourably deſerted the principle at this time, for before the French miniſters quitted Raſtadt 400 huſſars entered the town, took poſſeſſion of its gates, and permitted no perſon to go out or come in.

The French plenipotentiaries got into their carriages about eight o'clock in the evening, but they were denied a paſſage through the gates, and did not ſucceed in departing till they ſent a requiſition to the commandant of the place, who dwelt at the extremity of the town. At laſt they ſucceeded in procuring permiſſion, and were eſcorted by two huſſars, who afterwards left them, and returned to town! Before they had gone five hundred paces from the town a troop of huſſars, both cavalry and infantry, ſallied forth upon them from a wood near the ſide of the road, and began to execute the horrid orders of their ſuperiors. The plenipotentiary, Jean Debry, was in the firſt carriage, with his wife and children, and, little ſuſpecting to find cannibals in Germany, he held out his paſſport to the Ruſſians who ſurrounded his carriage; but this was not the object of their inquiry: he was dragged out, and fell, covered with the deſperate gaſhes he received from ſabres on different parts of his body: ſuppoſing him to be

dead, they began to plunder the carriage, while he crawled, unperceived, into a ditch. The ſecretary and valet-de-chambre were in the ſecond carriage, who received no other injury than a few blows, on informing them that they were ſervants; their carriage was alſo plundered. The ambaſſador, Bonnier, rode by himſelf, who gave an affirmative anſwer when aſked if he was ſuch a miniſter; and he was inſtantly dragged out and murdered in the moſt inhuman manner, his head, legs, and arms being cut off! The ſecretary, Roſenſteil, having diſcovered the tragical ſcenes acting before him, leaped out of the chariot into a ditch, and eſcaped; in his carriage the murderers found a portmanteau full of papers, which they ſcattered upon the ground, but ſpeedily collected them again with the greateſt care. The ambaſſador Roberjot was in the fifth carriage, together with his wife, whom the monſters found it difficult to drag out, as ſhe forcibly claſped him in her arms; but, at laſt, they cut his head in two with a ſabre.

The carriages with the ladies and ſervants returned to Raſtadt, and the ſecretary, Roſenſteil, reached the town about eleven o'clock at night, by a number of by-ways. The ambaſſador, Jean Debry, had crawled into a wood, and bound up his wounds in the beſt manner he could, the coldneſs of the night contributing to congeal his blood: he ventured to come out, at the dawn of day, and got, unperceived, into the town. There can be no doubt but that the perpetrators of this infernal tranſaction were hired, ſince they offered no violence to any but the ambaſſadors. The French Directory unequivocally charged it on the cabinet of Vienna; but the Allies, with equal zeal, charged it on the Directory, who, it is ſaid, were af-

fraid that the ambaſſadors ſhould return to Paris and expoſe the intrigues by which the executive power had prevented the peace from being concluded. Both ſides contributed to involve the matter in perplexity, for neither took the neceſſary ſteps to prove its innocence: yet we cannot help thinking that it was the Allies who were guilty.

CHAPTER V.

Sieyes elected a Director, instead of Rewbell.—The French still retreat in Italy, and are beaten by General Bellegarde, and also on the Rhine, by General Nauendorff.—Suwarrow forms a Junction with the Austrians at Verona.—Scherer resigns, and is succeeded by Moreau.—Suwarrow engages and defeats the French on the Adda.—He encamps at Cassano.—The French again defeated, and General Serrurier, and all his Troops, taken.—The Allies take Possession of Milan.—Bellegarde defeated in the Lower Engadin.—The People of the Grisons rise on the French.—Massena attacks the Cantons of Schwitz.—The French evacuate the Grisons, and retreat in all Directions.

PERHAPS there never was a period in which the human heart palpitated so sensibly in expectation of great events as the present. From the highest pinacle of glory France beheld herself falling as rapidly as she had risen, and from the abyss of destruction Austria was recovering her fame. The victories and the talents of Buonaparté seemed now to constitute the only strength of the Republic, and the idea served to depress the French in the same degree that it encouraged their enemies. The odium poured upon the Directory became at last greatly diminished by the election of the Abbe Sieyes into that body, in the room of Rewbell, the most hated of all the members; and the folly of the French had reduced it so nearly to a level with those of the Allies, that the contending armies entered upon the contest upon

more equal terms than they had ever done before. Generals Lecourbe and Desolles abandoned their positions in the Tyrol, Laudohn and Bellegarde collected forces in the Wintschgau, and both the Inn and the Adige were evidently about to change their masters.

An offensive war in this quarter could not be carried on by the French, since Massena had given up his attacks on Feldkirch: in consequence of this, General Lecourbe, on the 25th of March, burnt the bridge of Fustermuntz, in the Grisons, across the Inn, and withdrew into the Lower Engadin, a situation farther up the river. General Desolles fell back upon Munster, entrenching himself in the defiles that enter the Tyrol from the Grisons on the West, where he was attacked by Bellegarde, and obliged to retreat to Zernetz, having experienced, in the Lower Engadin, a considerable loss. After another severe defeat by the same general, he was forced to retreat into the Upper Engadin, a mountainous and inhospitable country.

Upon the Rhine the Archduke menaced the left of Massena's army, under General Ernou, who occupied the defiles of Kintzg, which induced General Massena to retreat by the bridge of Kehl, and fix his head quarters at Basil. He had possession of the Rheinthal, and the strong post of Rheineck at the upper end of the Lake of Constance, making entrenchments in its vicinity; and he retained the possession of Schaffhausen till the posts on the left side should be fortified; Basil was defended by a strong garrison. It is not known, with certainty, whether a scarcity of provisions in Swabia and Switzerland, or the infant state of the operations in Italy influenced the Archduke, yet he kept back the Austrian army,

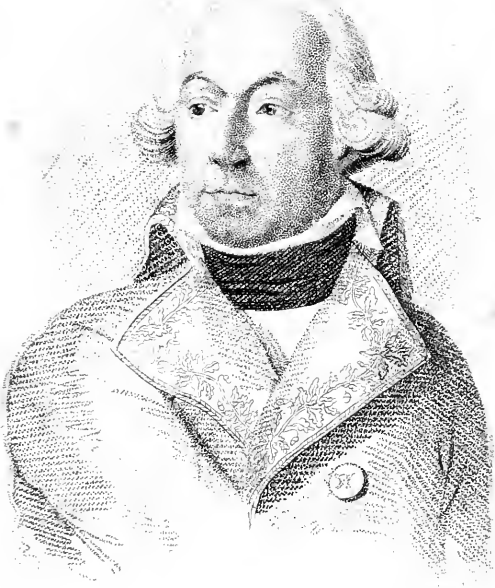
making only a few trifling movements near the Lake of Conſtance and in the Briſgau, till he inveſted Schaffhauſen on the 13th of April. General Nauendorf entered the place ſword in hand; the Republicans retreating acroſs the Rhine burnt the bridge when they left the town.

In Italy, as the French found it impracticable to maintain their poſition near Mantua, they continued to retreat, and croſſed the Chuiſa at Aſola. The Auſtrians were enabled to blockade this place; and Klenau, going up the river Po with his armed boats, made himſelf maſter of the poſts which ſupplied the garriſon, at the ſame time cutting off the communication between it and Ferrara. Thirty-two boats, with 200 pieces of artillery, deſtined to form batteries on the banks of the Po, and an equipage of pontoons, fell into the hands of General Klenau at Lagooſcuro. The right wing of the Auſtrian army penetrated beyond the Lake of Garda; in conſequence, the fleet of armed boats belonging to the French had been forced to take ſhelter under the cannon of Peſchiera, by the armed boats of the enemy from Riva; and Peſchiera was beſieged, being abandoned to its own reſources. Bellegarde ſent General Vukaſſowich from the Tyrol, to effect a junction with the right wing of the Imperial army, who forced his way into the province of Breſcia; but his intended attack was deferred, on account of reinforcements being ſent to it by Lecourbe from the Valteline.

In the mean time the right wing of the French army retreated by the Oglio, and the left beyond the Chiuſa. General Kray paſſed the Mincio with the main body of his army, and was joined by Melas, the officer appointed to command the army, but who left

it in the hands of Kray, till the arrival of Suwarrow, who reached Verona on the 13th of April, with the van-guard of the Ruſſian army, and formed a junction with that of the Auſtrians, the chief command of which was conferred upon him. The French army now fell back behind the Adda, and evacuated Cremona, leaving a rear guard on the left bank of the Adda, between the forementioned place, and Pizzighitone. On the 17th of April, the head quarters of the Republican army were at Lodi, memorable by the victory of Buonaparté in a former campaign. At this time General Scherer, overwhelmed with confuſion and diſgrace, followed the fate of his patron Rewbell, and abandoned a ſtation to which he ſhould never have been raiſed; but not before he had ruined the army of Italy in the capacity of commander in chief, being ſucceeded by that great man General Moreau, when the army was reduced to one half of its original number.

It would have been madneſs in Moreau to contend with numbers ſo prodigiouſly ſuperior, and his only hope of ſafety depended on his flight. The Ruſſians and Auſtrians had now formed a junction, and all the places on the frontiers of the Ciſalpine Republic were unavoidably left to their own reſources, and a wiſh to capitulate was denied to Peſchiera. A ſally made from the garriſon of Mantua, had been vigorouſly repulſed, while the caſtle of Ferrara perſevered in its reſolution to reſiſt, and the garriſon of Breſcia ſurrendered as priſoners of war. The right of the French army was obliged to paſs the Adda, and the Auſtrian advanced guard proceeded within ſight of Lodi, when the head quarters of the French were removed to Milan; they were



General Lincoln.

Pub. by M. Jones Marlow.

ſtrongly entrenched on the Adda, and demoliſhed all the bridges. As Moreau was preſſed by ſuperior numbers, who were fluſhed with victory, he made every effort to procure reinforcements. The Munſterthal had been evacuated by General Deſolles, and an officer was detached from Maſſena's army to effect a landing with the right wing of General Moreau. The diviſion in poſſeſſion of Tuſcany was ordered to ſupport the left, and Moreau patiently waited for ſuch reinforcements as could be ſpared from the South of France, by the way of Piedmont.

The Republicans in covering their right wing by Mantua were incapable of re-eſtabliſhing their left, or of keeping the moſt formidable line of defence againſt troops nearly upon a par with their own, and, of conſequence, their only advantage depended on the chances of a deciſive conflict. Could they have confided in ſufficient reinforcements from France and Switzerland to retain the field of battle before the two Imperial armies, it was only at the foot of the Alps and Appenines they could ſecure thoſe benefits of ſituation which would have counteracted the effects of ſuperior numbers.

Moreau being forced to retreat towards the Milaneſe, the ſituation of General Macdonald, at Naples, was thus rendered extremely critical; for, as Mantua and Ferrara were blockaded, the communication with Genoa was, of conſequence, intercepted, the poſts on the Po, either deſerted or captured by the enemy, and the roads by the Duchy of Parma and Tuſcany, which had been violently ſeized by the French, rendered extremely hazardous. The Republican army was greatly reduced by the ſanguinary conflict on the Adige, and farther diminiſhed by

throwing garrifons into a number of fmall pofts, not one of which was qualified to impede the march of the Imperial armies for a fingle day. As the French army continued to dwindle away, for the reafons affigned, joined to the rapidity of its retreat, the Imperialifts gained daily advantages from the arrival of the Ruffians, the arming the Italians, and the difpofitions of the people.

Suwarrow, with a very fuperior force, turned the whole lines of the French pofts on the right fide of the Adda. Moreau had no expectation of being able to maintain himfelf in the Milanefe, or of obtaing fuch reinforcements, as would qualify him to keep poffeffion of it, yet he was aware of the danger of quitting too foon the upper part of Italy and the Lakes, which covered his right wing, as in that cafe he could have received no affiftance from Switzerland; while, on the other hand, had he delayed too long approaching the coaft of Genoa and the Appenines, he could not have derived any fuccours from Tufcany, much lefs from the forces in Naples. The Po was already croffed by the Imperial army, and Pizzighitone, on the Adda, was nearly invefted by Kaim and Hohenzollern. Moreau entrenched himfelf on the Upper Adda, with a defign to delude the enemy, as if he intended to engage the principal part of Suwarrów's troops, but, in fact, to render his retreat to Alexandria both eafy and certain.

Suwarrow marched the allied army from the Oglio to the Adda, not underftanding that the divifion under General Kray, employed in the fieges of Pefchiera and Mantua, and the troops under Generals Kaim and Hohenzollern had taken the route to Pizzighitone and Placentia. When Suwarrow ar-

rived, on the 26th of April, he divided his army into three columns, the right, commanded by Rosenberg, filed off North-westward, towards the Lake of Como; the centre, under Ott and Zoph, marched to Vaprio, and the left encamped in the vicinity of Cassano; two battalions of grenadiers got possession of Lecco, while Vukassowich, in the mean time, bent his march towards Brivio, re-built the bridge which had been destroyed by the Republicans, and stationed himself on the other side of the Adda, having under his command two squadrons, four battalions, and four pieces of cannon; the centre division threw a bridge over the Adda at Trezzo, came upon the French by surprise, made them abandon their position, and continued the pursuit of them within a short way of Milan.

General Moreau, understanding that Vukassowich and Rosenberg had effected the passage of the river, instantly perceived the necessity of strengthening the left wing of his army; General Grenier was accordingly directed to march to Brivio, to co-operate with the troops of Serrurier, which had evacuated Trezzo. A desperate engagement ensued between the French and General Ott: for some time the victory was dubious; but, while General Victor meditated the surrounding of the Imperial troops to the right, or force them into the Adda, the division of General Zoph passed the bridge at Trezzo, and turned the scale in favour of the Allies. The village of Pozzo was captured; the French retired towards Vaprio, but were not able to retain it long, which deprived them of the hope of aid from General Serrurier, he having been separated from the divisions attempting to arrive to his assistance. The Austrian

and the Ruſſian troops under Roſenberg and Vukaſſovich ſurrounded General Serrurier, and took him priſoner, with all his troops, after they had defended themſelves with valour and intrepidity. The general did not yield the palm, till he had ſecured a return to France for all his officers, and an exchange of his ſoldiers for ſuch of the allied army as might be made priſoners in the courſe of the day.

Melas marched directly againſt Caſſano, forcing the entrenchments of the Retorto Canal, which he paſſed in defiance of the enemy's fire. He next ſtormed the head of the bridge on the Adda with ſuch alacrity, that he preſerved it from being deſtroyed, and, having croſſed it with his whole forces, was ſtationed at Gorginzolo the ſame evening, the 27th of April. After ſuſtaining a conſiderable loſs, the French army retreated through Milan in the night, which was taken poſſeſſion of by the allied army on the enſuing day, the advanced guard, under General Vukaſſovich, puſhed on to Como, and a diviſion of Ruſſians marched through this place the ſame day. The metropolis of the Ciſalpine Republic was, by theſe means, in poſſeſſion of the Allied Powers, who appeared to be as welcome gueſts to the Milaneſe as their quondam maſters; a proof of the tyranny and corruption which diſgraced the Directory of France.

The perſons who had exerciſed the government of the Ciſalpine Republic, and were ſtyled alſo a Directory, followed the French army: the Archduke Charles continued on the left ſide of the Rhine, and had not entered on any hoſtile movements in the beginning of May. Reinforcements had been received by Maſſena; and the army employed for the protection of Switzerland alone amounted to about 60,000, exclu-

ſive of the auxiliary troops furniſhed by that country. The Archduke purpoſely evaded hoſtilities till the ſucceſs of the Italian army ſhould render it ſafe for him to begin his attack on the country of the Griſons, for which undertaking General Hotze was ſelected, and to have the command of 20,000 men. This officer acted in concert with Bellegarde, ſtationed in the Upper Engadin, who perſevered in aſſaulting the poſts of General Lecourbe, and whoſe object was to eſtabliſh a nearer communication with Hotze's left wing, to gain, by ſurpriſe, ſome paſſage on the high mountains, which divide the Inn from the Languard, and the Albula, flowing through the valley of the Griſons, and emptying themſelves into the Rhine above and below Coire.

It is impoſſible to give a deſcription of the difficulties of this country, which being combined with the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and the operations of the French army under Lecourbe, rendered the attempts of Bellegarde totally abortive. A joint attack on the 1ſt of May met with ſimilar ſucceſs. Bellegarde was defeated, with great loſs in the Lower Engadin, when a number of the Auſtrians were made priſoners, together with the Prince de Ligne; while Hotze experienced a ſerious repulſe from Chabrand at Mayenfeld, on the Rhine, and loſt great numbers of his troops, the regiment of the Prince of Orange being wholly cut off.

The firſt endeavour of Hotze to carry the fort of Lucienſteig by aſſault, which may be conſidered as the key of the Griſons, appears to have originated from the advice of that people themſelves; for 10,000 of them appeared ſuddenly in arms, ſurpriſing the French poſts at Diſentis and Ilantz with ſuch intrepidity that the retreat of Lecourbe from the Upper Engadin

would have been inevitable, and the communication by St. Gothard entirely cut off had the Grisons and the Austrians understood each other; but there is great reason to believe, that the friendship of the Austrians for the Grisons was exactly like that of the French for the Irish; the Grisons sought *the freedom of their country*, the Austrians sought *to take it from the French:* they were so deficient of unity of design that they destroyed the exertions of each other, like the builders of Babel. About 6,000 peasants poured down upon the bridge of Rechenau, and made themselves masters of it, while Massena made preparations for strengthening his left wing, as he found it impracticable to divide the forces under the Archduke. He threw reinforcements into Luciensteig, and dispatched Menars to reduce the Swiss peasantry, who succeeded in forcing them to abandon the bridge of Rechenau, continuing the pursuit of them as far as Disentis; here he came up with the principal body, routed them, and killed 2,000.

CHAPTER VI.

Maſſena attempts, in vain, to draw the Archduke into an Ambuſcade.—Lucienſteig taken by the Auſtrians, and the French retreat acroſs the Rhine.—Plans of Suwarrow.—Embarraſſment of Moreau.—Peſchiera and Pizzighitone, taken by the Auſtrians.—The Ruſſians defeated by Moreau.—Suwarrow, notwithſtanding, advances upon Turin.—Tortona beſieged by the Allies.—Victory gained at Marengo by Moreau, who is, however, obliged to retire towards Genoa.—Turin taken.—Macdonald retreats from Naples.—Milan, Ferrara, and Ravenna, taken by the Allies, who advance upon the French in Switzerland.

DURING theſe tranſactions Maſſena attacked the Swiſs belonging to the ſmall cantons on the Lake at Schwitz, where he forced them to lay down their arms; and at Altorf 4,000 men were either diſperſed or cut to pieces. General Soult followed the remains of this patriotic army to the valley of Urſeren, to prevent their gaining the paſs of St. Gothard. As the Valteline was left expoſed ſince the paſſage of the Adda, the gaining of Como, and the eaſtern ſide of the Lake, much more was neceſſary to defend the left wing of the French army in Switzerland, than the re-eſtabliſhment of its interior communications. General L'Oriſon, with difficulty, made good his retreat by the way of Chavienna into the Griſons, being obliged to abandon part of his artillery, and, with the utmoſt rapidity, Lecourbe croſſed from the Lower Engadin to Bellinzone, thus enabled to protect the

paſs of St. Gothard, by ſupporting his ſecond line, and deſtroying the communication between the ſmall cantons and the Swiſs Italian baillages. Lecourbe took a poſition at Bellinzone, while the head quarters of General Maſſena were removed from St. Gall to Zurich, performing a variety of manœuvres with his left wing, calculated to delude the Archduke; but that General ſeems to have penetrated the deſign, as he adhered to his original intention of gaining the Griſons before attempting any thing of importance on the Rhine.

Fully bent on the execution of this plan, he ſent ſtrong reinforcements to Feldkirch. A new mode of attack was concerted between Hotze and Bellegarde, who had reached Lentz, in purſuing the Republicans during their retreat from the Upper Engadin, where the Auſtrian commanders were joined by a vaſt number of the Griſons in arms. The Swiſs troops, collected by Steiger, and forming a junction with the Auſtrians under Hotze, were eager in their applications to form the van-guard of the column to act againſt Lucienſteig, now rendered remarkably ſtrong by the French. This fort was ſituated in a narrow defile, formed by awful rocks, whoſe ſummits to the Eaſtward embraced the ſteep heights incloſing the valley, half a league in length.

While preparing for another general attack, the Archduke, on the 9th of May, was informed of the arrival at Gallacia of a large Ruſſian force, deſtined for the Rhine. General Tolſtoy proceeded to the Archduke Charles's head quarters at Stockach, to receive his inſtructions reſpecting the deſtination of his troops, which were a part of 40,000 men ſubſidized by Great Britain, and wholly independent of

the army of Italy. The total amount of the Ruſſians was eſtimated at 70,000 men, who had already arrived, or were on their way to join the armies of Auſtria. On the 12th, every advanced column under the Archduke's orders, began to puſh forward; General Nauendorf marching from Engen towards Schauffhauſen on the Rhine, pretending by his manœuvres to meditate the paſſage of the Rhine, while General Maſſena was indefatigable in ſtrengthening the entrenchments and fortifications in the vicinity of Baſle, and reinforcing the diviſion ſtationed between Lorach and Rheinfelden, by which means his left wing was powerfully ſtrengthened.

General Hotze on the 14th of May came to an engagement, and ſucceeded in making himſelf maſter of the key to the Griſons, which had held out for two months, and occaſioned, on both ſides, an immenſe waſte of blood and treaſure. The firſt of his four columns was ordered to make a feigned attack on the North-eaſt, at the upper extremity of the deſile; the ſecond was to ſecure the mountains above Mayenfeld on the Weſt, and to render eaſy the attack on the front, by making a deſcent on the rear, as the ſignal for a ſerious attack. The deſtination of the third column was to free the Seeviſer Alps, or Schiers Mountains, on the North, and North-eaſt; and the laſt, in conjunction with the artillery and cavalry, was ordered to ſtorm the paſſage on the Eaſt, by the Slapiner-Joch. The front column was headed by Hotze in perſon, and the other three by General Jellachich; and it was not till after twelve hours march, accompanied with exceſſive fatigue, that the Auſtrians arrived at the rear of the Republican entrench-

ments, the only point where it was possible for them to form a junction. The rear of these entrenchments was immediately attacked by Jellachich, Hotze forced the pass, and having marched to, and blown up the gate, in defiance of the Republican fire, he got possession of the fort commanded by General Humbert: the whole of the French 4th demi-brigade were made prisoners, amounting to 3,000 men.

Luciensteig no sooner fell into the hands of the enemy than the French began their retreat across the Rhine, which was conducted with good order, although precipitate. The right wing retreated towards Wallenstadt, the centre by the defiles of Vethis, and the left marched up the Rhine by Rechenau and Disentis: it was now an object of attention with Bellegarde to attempt cutting off the retreat of the French by the upper valley of the Rhine, by which he might have opened to himself the passes to the small cantons, and reached the country of the Grisons; but he found it impracticable to attain the valley of the Grisons, till the day after the capture of Luciensteig, and the evacuation of Coire and Rechenau by the rear-guard of the enemy's left column, of which places he took possession next day, the 16th of May, and made four companies prisoners. General Hotze, in the mean time, crossed the Rhine, and marched on to Wallenstadt by the way of Sargans, which last place had been burnt by the French. Bellegarde took the route of the Upper Rhine, pursuing that column of the Republican army which had retreated towards Disentis; so that the whole country of the Grisons, except the narrow valleys near the small cantons, might be said to have been abandoned by the French as early as the 17th of May; the posts

on the other ſide ot Switzerland being in the hands of the Allies.

To concentrate his forces was no longer a matter of choice with General Maſſena, but of neceſſity. The line employed for the exterior defence of Switzerland, extending from the Lake of Conſtance to the Rhœtian Alps, and conſiſting of a ſmall number of important poſts, of about ſixty leagues, was everywhere deſtroyed. The Rheinthal, Appenzel, the country of St. Gall and Turgovia, notwithſtanding they were the moſt completely ſheltered, and admirably flanked, were obliged to give way to ſuperior forces.

The ſucceſs attending the movements of the combined army in Italy facilitated the progreſs of the Archduke Charles. The forces of Suwarrow were ſo ſuperior to thoſe with which he had to contend that he found it an eaſy matter to detach different corps from the main body of his army to take poſſeſſion of the vallies in ſucceſſion, and thus check the Republican troops in the paſſes and defiles of Switzerland, which were to be conſidered as held by the French under a precarious tenure on account of that ſpirit of diſaffection which the people diſcovered: this ſpirit had been, in ſome meaſure, allayed by the exertions of General Soult, who had reached St. Gothard to co-operate with Lecourbe; but, although it was cruſhed, it was far from extinguiſhed.

As Suwarrow had reached the very heart of Lombardy in leſs time than he could reaſonably have expected, after croſſing the Adda and making himſelf maſter of Milan, he ſent a vaſt number of his troops on four different expeditions. He determined.—Firſt, To proſecute ſtill farther his operations againſt Moreau

on the Weſt and in front of him, that he might compel the French commander to haſten his retreat, and evacuate Piedmont and Genoa before he could obtain reinforcements.—Secondly, To penetrate the vallies above the lakes, on the North and on his right, which would enable the Archduke more eaſily to paſs with his left wing beyond St. Gothard.—Thirdly, In a North-eaſtern direction, and behind him, on the South-eaſt, General Kray laid ſiege to Mantua with 25,000 men, while Ferrara and Bologna, ſtill farther to the South-eaſtward, were blockaded by Klenau; the vigorous defence of which places was favourable to the retreat of the troops from Naples and Rome towards Tuſcany, commanded by General Macdonald.—Fourthly, Towards the South, and on his left, he ſent General Ott, with a diviſion, to aſſiſt Klenau to check the progreſs of General Macdonald, to gain the paſſes of the Appenines on the North-weſt, or Upper Tuſcany, and cut off all communication with that country and the Ligurian Republic on its North-weſt.

To fruſtrate this plan now became the principal object of the French commander; for if Genoa had fallen into the hands of the Allies Macdonald would have been cut off, and the Engliſh and Neapolitan forces might, themſelves, have annihilated his army. General Moreau, therefore, began his retreat by dividing his army into three columns, after he croſſed the Adda and evacuated Milan; the right took its route from Lodi towards Piacentia; the centre marched, by the way of Milan, towards Genoa, upon Pavia and Voghera, and the left by Vigevano and Novarra! while the main body of the army in the South-eaſt, continued its retreat upon the Ligurian

republic, General Moreau proceeded South-weſtward to Turin, where he made preparations for evacuating it. Unable to defend the plains of Piedmont with an army reduced to 25,000 men, and at the ſame time to retain the country of Genoa to the Southward, Moreau left Turin on the 7th of May, and changed his head-quarters to Alexandria: he retained Suwarrow as long as poſſible on the left ſide of the Po in order to favour the retreat of General Macdonald, for the accompliſhment of which he took his ſtation under Tortona, and made his advanced poſts extend on his right toward the Appenines.

Suwarrow reached Pavia, and ſent a vanguard, under the command of Vukaſſovich, to reduce Novarra and ſuch other places as the Republicans had abandoned, with inſtructions to march up the Po as far as Turin, and thus turn the attention of General Moreau to his rear, by flanking his left wing. In the meantime General Hohenzollern proceeded towards Piacenza, or Placentia, with a part of the left wing of the combined army, and, marching up the right ſide of the Po, drove back the Republican vanguard beyond Voghera. To aſſiſt this movement, and gain the paſſes into the territories of Genoa by the way of the Appenines, Suwarrow took a ſtation at Bobbio, on the road which leads from Placentia to Genoa.

As ſoon as Kray made himſelf maſter of Peſchiera he proceeded to Borgoforte, and collected the whole of his troops around Mantua, the garriſon of which made frequent ſorties, often terminating in ſerious conflicts. Latterman began the ſiege of Milan on the 5th of May, the trenches before Pizzhigitone having been opened the ſame day by General Kaim, which, after an obſtinate reſiſtance of four days, was

obliged to ſurrender. This circumſtance has been attributed to the blowing up of a powder magazine, which produced the immediate capitulation of the garriſon, amounting to 600 men. By theſe various movements the monſtrous army of Suwarrow was very much diminiſhed; yet, if his knowledge had been equal to the ſkill of Moreau in military tactics, he might not only have ſucceeded in exterminating the whole of the Republicans in Italy, but penetrated into the Southern frontiers of France, and, perhaps, been able to have reſtored that country to its ancient rulers: but the ſingular abilities of Moreau rendered both impoſſible.

The Ruſſian general endeavoured to diſlodge the French commander from his entrenched camp behind the Po, between Valenza and Alexandria. On the 9th of May General Chaſteler attacked Tortona, and ſucceeded in blowing up the gates, in defiance of the fire from the caſtle, into which the French had retreated. On the 10th of May the principal part of the combined army paſſed the Scrivia and encamped at Torre Garafolo; General Karaczay was ſent with a diviſion againſt Novi, Serravalle, and Gavi. General Moreau's right wing had Alexandria in flank of it, his left wing was covered by Valenza, and he had, in the meantime, thrown ſtrong detachments into Verrua and Caſale. He comprehended the deſigns of Suwarrow, who threatened his right wing and the communication it kept up with Genoa, with no other deſign than to ſurpriſe a paſſage acroſs the Po to his left, and then come to a general engagement with the Republican army.

Had Moreau, in this critical ſituation, loſt a battle it would have been almoſt impoſſible for him to effect

a retreat on either ſide of the Appenines. The attack meditated by Suwarrow on the left wing of his army was put in execution on the 11th, by a vanguard of the Auſtrian troops, who had experienced a warm reception on their croſſing the Po above Valenza; but on the enſuing day hoſtilities wore a more ſerious aſpect, when 7,000 Ruſſians, under General Schubarf, croſſed the river below Valenza, not far from the place where the Po and Tanaro unite their ſtreams, marching directly to Pecetto, between Tortona and Alexandria, with a view to penetrate the line of Moreau's army. General Grenier's diviſion ſuſtained the firſt furious ſhock of the Ruſſian troops, at which inſtant Moreau attacked them in flank by the diviſion of General Victor, and the conqueſt became deciſive: great numbers of the Ruſſians were either ſlain or periſhed in the Po, among whom was their commander, General Schubarf.

After the ill ſucceſs of this ſecond endeavour, Suwarrow determined to proceed to Turin with the greater part of his army, along the left bank of the Po, to compel Moreau to abandon his camp, and either retreat to the Ligurian Republic or fall back on the frontiers of France: to accompliſh either of theſe objects, Vukaſſovich, on the 16th, attacked Caſale Verrua and Ponte Stura, while General Melas received orders to paſs to the oppoſite of the Po, and take his route towards Candia. It is not certain whether Moreau received intelligence of theſe manœuvres, or perceived movements in the Ruſſian camp at Torre Garafolo, where a ſmall force only ſhould have been retained, indicative of ſomething againſt which he was determined to guard; but during the night he threw a bridge acroſs the Bormida, and

paſſed it in the morning with 7,000 men, commanding the cavalry in perſon: in his firſt attack he broke the chain of advanced poſts of the coſſacs at Marengo, purſuing them in their retreat as far as Santo Juliano, and afterwards ſent, by his left, a detachment to force the advanced poſts of Melas and march againſt the camp of Toree Garafolo, commanded by General Luſignan, whom he compelled to abandon his poſition, and kept him for ſome time ſeparate from a body of ſeven Ruſſian battalions; however, the French general was, at length, obliged to repaſs the Bormio river to Alexandria. This deſperate effort was the laſt made by Moreau to retain his poſition. The head-quarters of Suwarrow were now at Lumello, and he determined to loſe no time in attacking the poſts of the Republicans on the left ſide of the Po above Valenza. Caſale was attacked and carried by Vukaſſovich; and Moreau, finding himſelf no longer able to keep poſſeſſion of his entrenched camp, was obliged to abandon Valenza and Alexandria, having provided the latter place with a garriſon, and he made good his retreat to Coni on the 22d of May, by the way of Aſti and Chieraſco. To open a communication with Genoa and that part of the coaſt, which the armed peaſantry had interrupted, he ſent a body of troops on his right to take poſſeſſion of Mondovi and Ceva. No poſition could have been more advantageouſly taken in his circumſtances, or diſplayed greater knowledge of the military art, as by this means he could receive reinforcements from the Southern departments of France by the way of Finale, Oneglia, and other ſmall ſeaports on the Mediterranean coaſt. By the combination of ſuch manœuvres Moreau ſaved the remains

of Scherer's army, and afforded time for Macdonald to arrive at the frontiers of the Ligurian republic, formerly Genoa, as well as enabled Perignon to block up the passes on the side of the mountains, to increase his means of defence, and take possession of such advanced posts as were calculated to facilitate the junction of the armies. On the other hand, Suwarrow's positions were not the result of the same profound knowledge: stationed on either side of the Po, below where the Bormida and the Tanaro form a junction of their streams, he found it impracticable to surround the French army in the camp of Alexandria. On the evacuation of this place, and which he himself afterwards occupied, he blockaded the citadel with the troops of general Schweikofky; a division under Seckendorf had taken the route to Aqui, and the whole centre of the combined army, under Melas, proceeded to Candia, situated North of the Po. These marches against Turin, on either side of the Po, were impeded for some days by heavy rains; and, on the 26th, Melas effected the passage of the Sesia, continuing his route to the Stura. The troops under Karaczay crossed these rivers, posting themselves in front of the Chartreuse. Vukassovich proceeded along the right side of the Po, taking a station on the heights of the Capuchins; and the city of Turin being thus invested, was summoned to surrender, which the French commander answered with a brisk cannonade, and the bombardment commenced on the 27th.

It was particularly unfortunate for the French, that, shortly after the firing began, a house near the gate of the Po was set on fire by a bomb, the disorder

it occaſioned was turned to the advantage of the Allies by the armed inhabitants, who immediately opened the gate. The garriſon, amounting to about 3,000 men, fled into the citadel, the diviſion of Kaim made itſelf maſter of the town, Prince Bagration took poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, and Frolich and Zoph formed a camp of obſervation on the South-weſt end, leading to Pignerol. From the commencement of hoſtilities on the Adige till Suwarrow came within ſight of the frontiers of France, no more than ten weeks had elapſed! a circumſtance which would have covered him with glory, if the groſs miſmanagement of the French government did not operate as a conſiderable drawback upon the wiſdom of its enemies. Moreau had continued another maſterly retreat with a handful of men, but Suwarrow had a conſiderable army in his rear, againſt which he found it neceſſary to watch. When the news reached General Macdonald that the troops of France had retreated from before Mantua, he inſtantly evacuated the kingdom of Naples, ordering a camp to be formed at Caſerta and Madaloni, and created a numerous national guard of the Neapolitans, who ſeemed extremely willing to defend themſelves againſt the attacks of the combined powers: he proviſioned Fort St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, as if the regular ſiege of thoſe places had been unavoidable. He left the camp of Caſerta on the 9th of May and proceeded to Florence, by the way of Rome; the firſt diviſion, under General Olivier, found the inhabitants of the country in a ſtate of rebellion while it traverſed St. Germano and Iſola; two villages were carried by aſſault, and all their miſguided inhabitants periſhed in the conflict! Such of the Neapolitans as were democratic could not

behold the retreat of the French without dismay, and the same sentiments were evinced by the Romans, for the defence of whom Macdonald left a garrison, with orders that they should retreat into the fort of St. Angelo, if attacked by superior numbers.

The commanders of the Republican troops in Tuscany, Generals Gauthier and Miolis, made preparations for the reception of the army of Naples, and formed a camp of observation between Florence and Bologna, blocking up all the passes of the Appenines. Suwarrow's situation was now such as would have rendered it imprudent to advance, since the junction of Moreau and Macdonald might have enabled them to have cut off his retreat, with a very small reinforcement, from the side of Monte Blanc. The rapidity with which Macdonald marched, the boldness of the corps in Tuscany, and the movements of General Moreau, conspired to render Suwarrow's retreat even prudent.

Deeply sensible of this, General Suwarrow pushed on his sieges, by which he was prevented from acting in the field with the principal part of his army. He sent Hohenzollern, with a reinforcement of six battalions, to the siege of Milan; but decisive operations were prevented, from his being obliged to send succours to the Prince of Rohan, who was to act against superior forces, between the lakes of Como and Lugano, at the entrance into the Italian Bailiwics, where he found Lecourbe more than a match for him, although he was assisted by such of the inhabitants as discovered a spirit of insurrection. The Republicans were under the necessity of retreating from Lugano to Bellinzone by Mount Cenere, and attempting to

gain Switzerland by the Leventina valley, through which the Tiſino flows from St Gothard; upon which the Imperial forces were recalled, and the trenches opened, on the 23d of May, againſt the citadel of Milan, the commander of which ſigned a capitulation, and procured for his troops, amounting to 2,200 men, a free paſſage and the honours of war; but with a proviſo, that they ſhould not take up arms againſt the Allied Powers for the ſpace of one year. About the ſame time the citadel of Ferrara was forced to capitulate, and 1,500 men, of which it conſiſted, obtained terms from General Klenau ſimilar to thoſe granted to Milan. Ravenna ſurrendered to the Allies a few days after; and Ancona capitulated to the combined fleets of Turkey and Ruſſia. General Kray perſevered in the ſiege of Mantua, who, having defeated the conductors of a briſk ſally, on the 19th of May, received orders to withdraw his troops, leaving behind him only thoſe he might deem ſufficient to carry on the ſiege; and theſe were ſoon reinforced by other diviſions, with which, and thoſe of Ott and Hohenzollern, he was to form a new army, to be commanded by himſelf. His firſt object was to compel the French to abandon Bologna, which was defended with bravery, the Bolognese giving the French a vigorous ſupport: to the Republicans that was the place of the greateſt importance beyond the Appennines, as its ſituation interſected the roads, and obſtructed the march of the combined powers towards Tuſcany, and protected the retreat of the army of Naples.

Such was the relative ſituation of the armies of Italy in the beginning of June. The progreſs of the

Archduke in Switzerland was equally interesting and as much contested; and, if we attend to the nature of the country, it was more difficult than that of Suwarrow. Rapidly pursued by Hotze and Bellegarde, we have seen the French columns retreat from the country of the Grisons. The corps which took the route of the valley of the lower Rhine, by the way of Ilantz, under the command of General Sutchet, arrived at Urseren on the 10th of May, where General Lecourbe repassed St. Gothard, from Bellinzone, and made a nearer approach to the army of General Massena.

At the moment when the van-guard of general Nauendorf passed the Rhine at Schaffhausen, on the 22d, in conjunction with the main body of the Archduke's army, Hotze likewise effected the passage of that river with his division. The Rheinthal was now evacuated by the Republicans under General de Lorge, and after Hotze had gained the post of Werdemberg, forced his way into the Toggenburg, by the Thur river. While the troops which had crossed at Rheineck were marching to St. Gall, the column which kept the course of the Thur attempted to reach Turgovia by a forced march. The design of Hotze was to join the van-guard of General Nauendorf, posted at Aldensingen, to facilitate the passage, and establish the remaining part of the army; as it was the wish of the Archduke to collect the whole of his forces before he hazarded a general engagement.

General Massena marched, on the 25th day of May, against the van-guard of General Nauendorf, to prevent a junction, and frustrate a meditated

attack, by the allied army, on his lines, on the Limmit river. General Nauendorf's van-guard was already beyond the left ſide of the Thur; and he was alſo determined to oppoſe the van-guard of General Hotze, ſurpriſing it between Fravenfeld and Winterthur while proſecuting its route.

CHAPTER VII.

Various Battles between the Archduke and Maſſena.—Plan to ſeparate the Armies of Moreau, Maſſena, and Macdonald.—General Macdonald, unexpectedly, attacks and beats part of the Allied Troops.—Modena taken and plundered by his Troops.—He takes Parma and Placentia.—Suwarrow obliged to haſten, for the Purpoſe of oppoſing his Progreſs.—Dreadful Battle.—The Junction of Moreau and Macdonald prevented.—Shocking Effect of the Campaign.

THESE arrangements, demonſtrative of an equal degree of ſkill and enterpriſe on both ſides, led to a very ſanguinary affair, in which the Republicans defeated the huſſars that defended the poſts of Nauendorf, and ſucceeded in the re-capture of the bridge of Andelfingen over the Thur, but were, at laſt, obliged to abandon it. The battle raged with double fury on the ſide of Frauenfeld, and different regiments were ſurrounded, both cavalry and infantry, on their way from Conſtance to Zurich. As the infantry of the Auſtrians were much fatigued, having marched during the whole of the preceding day, their loſs was conſiderable, and the regiment of the Gemmingen was nearly annihilated.

The Prince of Roſenberg, who commanded the Kinſky dragoons, exerted all his endeavours to ſupport the infantry, as the ground they occupied was extremely diſadvantageous. The battle continued from nine in the morning till five in the evening, during which time the Auſtrians ſuffered ſeverely;

but, on the arrival of a corps de reserve, they were finally victorious, and the French were repulsed. In defiance of this opposition the Archduke accomplished the object he had in view, transferring his head quarters to Paradies, and, next day, retook the whole of the posts he had lost on the left side of the Thur. To effect a junction he proceeded to Winterthur on the 27th of May, and Hotze, having forced the Republicans back to the mountain on the road to Zurich, called the Stiegpass, advanced to attack them in front.

Bellegarde took every advantage of his situation on the side of the mountains; having obtained reinforcements after the capture of Mount St. Gothard, the inhabitants of the small cantons again appearing in arms against the French. He got possession of the canton of Glaris; and so serious were the apprehensions entertained of him at Lucerne, that the members of the Helvetic government, deeming themselves in danger, removed their sittings to Berne: he likewise sent a number of troops to Schwitz, but found the reception he met with from General Lecourbe too warm for him to withstand, this officer having taken a very formidable position at Wasen, the chief lines of defence in Switzerland, was flanked on the right, and the Austrians were in possession of the highest grounds.

Massena, perceiving that the Archduke was resolved to press upon him, after uniting with Hotze, stationed himself behind the Glatt on the 28th of May; but, being annoyed on his left wing, he was obliged to unite his forces in his entrenched camp at Zurich. The Archduke, perceiving this, dispatched a body of troops against the Glatt, before

Baſſendorf and Kloten, and puſhed forward the advanced guard under General Nauendorf to the heights of Regeſpurg, within ſight of Baden. For ſome days after, a number of ſkirmiſhes took place between the advanced poſts of the hoſtile armies, when Lecourbe defeated the Imperialiſts, and, after an obſtinate and bloody conflict, carried an important poſt on the 2d of June, retaining his poſition at Waſen, ſupporting in this manner the right of the new line of defence, the camp of Zurich being ſituated at its centre and front.

The contending armies being thus ſituated the Archduke paſſed the Glatt on the 4th of June, making Kloten his head quarters, and marching forward his advanced poſts within gun-ſhot of the Republican entrenchments, threatening the right wing of the French army, and in complete poſſeſſion of all the heights. Having reconnoitred the ſituation of the French, rendered formidable both by nature and art, the Archduke made an attack on the villages in the weakeſt parts of the Republican line, which were defended with determined bravery, and alternately in poſſeſſion of the Auſtrians and French. Prince Charles next day attacked the enemy's entrenchments with his entire force, which they obſtinately defended during fourteen hours: the attack was againſt the whole line at once, and few actions were ever more deſperately fought or occaſioned greater carnage. Hotze, Wallis, Kerpen and Hiller, all generals, were wounded on the ſide of Auſtria, as was Humbert and Oudinot on the ſide of the Republicans, and Cherin, chief of the French ſtaff, was killed. The Archduke had commanded a ſecond attack to be made upon it, but Maſſena abandoned Zu-

rich during the night, and took a poſition on Mount Albis, his left wing having the Rhine in flank and his right the Lake of Zug: after this Prince Charles fixed his head quarters at Zurich.

The plan of the Archduke and Suwarrow was, to cut off the communication between the two French armies of Italy and Switzerland, in the ſame manner as they deſigned to ſeparate thoſe of Moreau and Macdonald, and open a communication between the Imperial armies in the ſpeedieſt manner, after making a conqueſt of Piedmont, the Milaneſe country, and the Northern parts of Italy. With zeal and perſeverance they both detached troops, the one from his right wing in Italy, and the other from his left in Switzerland, to aſſiſt Bellegarde in the repeated attacks he made upon the French, in order to drive them from the Rhœtian Alps to St. Gothard, an undertaking extremely difficult, from the determined oppoſition he met with from the Republican generals, Lecourbe, De Solles, and Loiſon.

About this period Moreau found himſelf too feeble to maintain a defenſive line between St. Gothard and the ſea, to meet all the attacks made againſt him, and, conſequently, he was obliged to abandon this ſupport to his left wing, as well as his communication with Maſſena: after obtaining from Switzerland the reinforcements which it was poſſible to expect from a commander in Maſſena's ſituation, he fell back to cover the Ligurian republic, and to preſerve the barrier of the Appenines, in order to furniſh Macdonald with the means of retreating. General Suwarrow taking poſſeſſion, with his main army, of the interval which Moreau was compelled to relinquiſh, kept up a conſtant war of poſts in the paſſes of Switzerland,

and resolved on the subjugation of Piedmont by the entire capture of Turin. Moreau's wishes were gratified by these movements, a circumstance which the Russian general did not comprehend. Such a want of knowledge did Suwarrow discover in manœuvring his army, that he found it impracticable either to surround Moreau, to force him to abandon the Appenines, or collect forces capable of acting on the offensive in Upper Tuscany, as the French were receiving continual reinforcements from the vanguard of Macdonald.

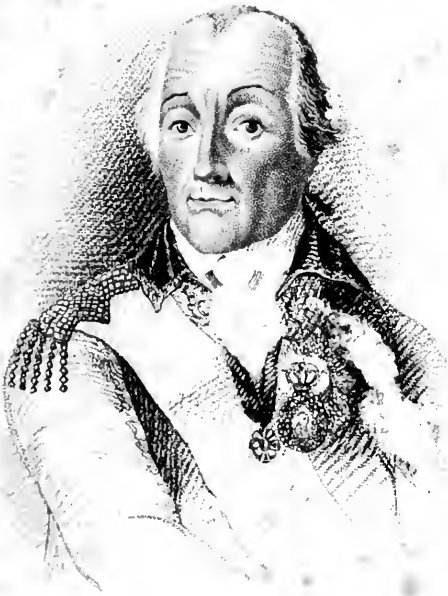
Situated as he was, the camp of Moreau at Coni was almost fifty leagues from the advanced posts of Macdonald on the frontiers of Tuscany, while he drew as near as possible to the frontiers of France, to facilitate the arrival of the trifling reinforcements he expected by the Col-de-Tende. He sent a division from this place, under General Victor, to join the army of Naples by the Ligurian republic, to enable Macdonald to adopt offensive measures, and reach the country of Liguria by opening the passes of the frontiers. The Republicans recaptured Mondovi, and blockaded Ceva; but General Vukassovich rescued these two places, being at that time master of Carmagnole and Alba, as also of Cherasco. By the manœuvres of Moreau at Coni he diverted the attention of the allied army as much as possible, and drew off the principal part of its forces.

When Suwarrow made himself master of Turin he marched the greater part of his army in divisions into the vallies of Susa, Morienne, Aousta, and Lucerne, where the Vaudois appeared in arms in favour of the Republicans, threatening to force a

paſſage acroſs the Alps, and turn the laſt line of defence in Switzerland by the department of Mount Blanc. The ſituation of Moreau's army on the flanks of Suwarrow's, and a Republican army in his rear, made it impoſſible for him to make any farther advances: he expected that he would be able to keep Moreau in front of him, by which he concluded that he would more eaſily prevent the junction of the two armies than by giving up the purſuit. In this he was miſtaken, and it was here that the Allies committed the moſt fatal error of the campaign, for they would have ſucceeded much better in their object had Suwarrow taken a poſition on the heights of Genoa, and driven Moreau into that fortreſs.

Suwarrow having diſpoſed of a portion of his troops, as formerly mentioned, marched in perſon to attack General Moreau, who, having left a ſtrong garriſon at Coni, retreated to Col-de-Tende on the 7th of June. The diviſion of Xantrailles was appointed by Maſſena for the purpoſe of reinforcing the left wing of General Moreau's army; having reduced the inſurgents to ſubmiſſion, Maſſena poſted himſelf in the Upper Valais, but he conceived it dangerous to riſk a deſcent into Italy. The blockades of Tortona, Alexandria, and the citadel of Turin, were, in the meantime, carried on with the moſt determined vigour and perſeverance.

The Archduke having gained poſſeſſion of St. Gothard, and apprehending no danger to his left wing, ſent General Bellegarde, with the principal part of his diviſion, to reinforce the army of Italy; the remainder, under the orders of General Haddick, were ſtationed at Domo d'Oſſola, either to march into Switzerland, or aſſiſt the army of Italy,



General Lannoy.

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as circumſtances might require. Bellegarde, at the head of eighteen battalions, and 3,500 horſe, took the route to Tortona, and marched through Milan on the 6th of June. The forces of General Macdonald might amount to 40,000 men, who was at this time in the neighbourhood of Florence, as we formerly mentioned, including the reinforcements under General Victor: it could not poſſibly exceed this number, when we conſider that he left garriſons at Fort St. Elmo, Capua, Gaeta, Rome, Civita-Vecchia, Ancona, and different other places, in order to cover his retreat.

As ſoon as Macdonald arrived in Tuſcany, his firſt care was to rid all the paſſes of the Appenines. The important one of Pontremoli was in the hands of General Ott, which place is on the extreme frontier of Tuſcany with the Ligurian republic. Kray was ſtationed at Caſtellaro, from whence he ſuperintended the ſiege of Mantua, and was extremely active in the reduction of Bologna, where the Republicans had ſucceeded ſo completely in covering the retreat of the army of Naples. The Auſtrians took Forli and Cervia, and ſurpriſed the French at Fort Lugo, between Ravena and Bologna, having gained poſſeſſion of Ceſena and Rimini, whilſt carrying on the blockade of Fort Urbino: but notwithſtanding the reinforcements of General Kray, the diviſions of Ott and Hohenzollern were ſtill too feeble to make their entrance into Tuſcany, and commence offenſive operations.

It was the firſt object of General Macdonald to ſtrengthen his right wing under the command of Montrichard, who, having detached the brigade of Ge-

neral Clauzel to occupy Bologna, engaged and repulſed Klenau, and ſucceeded in raiſing the ſiege of Fort Urbino. The legion of Poland, under Dombrowſky, in the ſervice of France, was diſpatched againſt Sarzana and Pontremoli, and ordered to recapture this laſt place from the Imperialiſts at any price. Macdonald, being joined by General Ruſca's diviſion, which he had left at Florence, fixed his head-quarters at Lucca, and found it afterwards an eaſy matter to communicate with Genoa, make himſelf acquainted with the poſitions and ſtrength of the allied armies, and concert a plan of ſubſequent operations with General Moreau: he was in a more favourable ſituation than his hopes preſaged, and expected to act offenſively even beyond the Appenines, and open ſuch a ſcene of operations as would at once be new and wholly unexpected.

General Moreau at firſt took a poſition at the Colde-Tende, with an army reduced to 15,000 men, after loſing the detachment of General Victor, who had been ſent to reinforce Macdonald, but he received an addition to his force by the way of Nice, which he ſent on to Genoa by Oneglia, and entered the Ligurian republic, his left flank being covered by the Appenine Mountains, the whole paſſes of which were in his poſſeſſion. He wiſhed in all his movements to deceive the enemy, by inducing them to infer that his object was to collect reinforcements from every quarter. A report, made by General Melas, who was appointed to watch his manœuvres, is a convincing proof that the Allies believed he had no other intention: he employed his penetrating judgment in augmenting his forces to appearance far beyond their real number, and wiſhed to draw upon

him the attention of Suwarrow. He ſpread a falſe report of having received 15,000 additional troops by the way of Toulon; this fabrication was rapidly circulated, and the public prints were full of circumſtances reſpecting it which had never any exiſtence. Before its forgery was detected General Moreau reached Genoa, at the head of 18,000 men, and reinforced himſelf with the whole of the French and Ligurian troops under General Perignan: he alſo animated with courage the Republican party, by a manifeſto, and prepared to ſecond the movements which had been agreed upon between him and General Macdonald: their plan was daring and complicated, comprehending the raiſing of the ſiege of Mantua, compelling General Kray to fall back on the Adige, freeing the citadels of Alexandria and Tortona, uniting the two armies, and marching againſt Suwarrow with a ſuperior force. Macdonald, with the main body of his army, quitted the camp of St. Pellegrino on the 8th of June, and proceeded to Modena. Dombrowſky and Victor, whoſe diviſions formed the left wing, marched, the one from Sapello, or Pelago, and the other took the route to Reggio from Pontremoli. The troops commanded by Ruſca and Montrichard, being the right wing, marched to Caſtelfranco from Bologna, having received inſtructions to turn Modena, and to effect the paſſage of the Panara between that city and the Po. The vanguard of the centre diviſion, commanded by General Olivier, came up with the firſt poſts of Hohenzollern on the 10th of June, making it fall back within two miles of Modena, and the next day a battle enſued between the cavalry of the hoſtile armies; the Auſtrians were, at firſt, routed, but were, at length,

affifted by the regiment of Preifs, which charged the Republicans at the point of the bayonet and repulfed them.

General Macdonald, on the 12th, made another attack, which was of a very fanguinary nature, as cavalry and infantry were blended together in one common ruin: the commander in chief was wounded and General Foreft killed on the fpot, when the Auftrians were obliged to give up Modena, which was taken and plundered. The French being maffers of the pofts on the left fide of the Secchia, Hohenzollern was, in confequence, cut off from Reggio: the regiment of Preifs, which formed the rear guard, was nearly annihilated, although it had been frequently furrounded, and often forced its way through the French troops. Kray having brought off the artillery with which he carried on the fiege of Mantua, demolifhed the bridge of Cafale Maggiore, and every other bridge on the Po, taking a ftation on the left fide of the river, with 10,000 men, and fome thoufands of armed peafantry, to prevent the paffing of the river and protect the fiege of Mantua. It cannot be certainly known what prevented General Macdonald from executing the plan afcribed to him as its author, of raifing the fiege of Mantua; whether it was owing to the uncommon fwell in the river Po, or whether he had already done all he intended, by forcing the enemy to crofs it, he marched againft Reggio with his whole army, entering Parma on the 14th and Placentia on the enfuing day, where he affembled his army on the 16th, and commenced his attack on the citadel.

Macdonald's vanguard obliged General Ott to retreat, at the head of no more than 8,000 men, but in

expectation of receiving reinforcements from General Melas; this officer having been made acquainted with the intentions of Moreau marched against Alexandria on the 10th of June, at which time Bellegarde also appeared, with the division under his command. General Suwarrow was pressing the siege of the citadel of Turin with the utmost dispatch, when he received information from General Kray, of the successes which had attended the march of Macdonald; and this determined him to leave Kaim to carry on the blockade, and march forward in person with all the forces he could collect. Vukassovich, at the head of a vanguard, was ordered to annoy the rear of General Moreau's army, and send a corps to Ormea, on the road leading from Ceva to Oneglia. It may be affirmed that almost the whole of the combined forces were now collected between Tortona and Placentia, and nearly in the same position they occupied about six weeks prior to this period, ostensibly for the accomplishment of the same object, to hinder the junction of Macdonald's army with that of Moreau. If such was the intention of the Allies, it must be confessed that time to them was uncommonly precious, since it is more than probable that a single hour would have turned the scale in favour of the Repubcans.

General Macdonald formed a junction with Victor on the 27th of June, and set out from Placentia towards St. Giovanni, twelve miles West of the former, and five West of the river Tidone, behind which General Ott retreated, to whose assistance Melas came up with his vanguard at the commencement of the action. General Macdonald used every effort

to draw off the left wing of the Imperial army by the operations of his right, and thus gain the road to Pavia on the Po, that he might be enabled to ſurround the centre of General Melas, who had aſſumed the command, and cut off the communication with the forces in his rear. The Auſtrians repulſed this firſt attack, and Ott and Frolich maintained their poſitions till Suwarrow made his appearance with a very ſtrong advanced guard of Ruſſian troops: the battle became general, and raged till night with inexpreſſible fury, when the Republicans retired to their ſtations between the Tidone and Trebia rivers.

On the 18th General Suwarrow collected all his forces and made preparations for a deciſive engagement; ſimilar preparations were made on the part of General Macdonald, who arranged his army in order of battle on the left, or Weſt ſide, of the Trebia. The Allied Army conſiſted of four different columns; the left, on the ſide of the Po, being ordered to march to Ponte-di-Mora, by the way of Caledano; the ſecond took the road on the right, or South, of Placentia, and the third marched towards Vaccari (theſe columns conſiſted wholly of Ruſſian troops;) the fourth was deſtined to act againſt Rippalta and San Georgio, to turn the left wing of the French army, and conſiſted of the diviſions of Ott and Frolich. The attack was put off till five in the evening, to give the troops ſome time to reſt, and it commenced with a dreadful ſhock on the whole front of the two armies, when the Republicans were again defeated, after a deſperate reſiſtance and the ſhedding of much blood upon both ſides. General Macdonald withdrew behind the right ſide of the Trebia, and did not retreat to Placentia, as he determined to make another at-

tempt against the forces of Suwarrow, whose infantry were overwhelmed with fatigue.

While they imagined that Macdonald was retreating as fast as possible, he attacked them on the 19th, with the most desperate valour, repulsing every advanced post on the Trebia, sending one of his columns to the other side of the Po, and another across the Trebia, with a view to turn the right flank of Suwarrow's army. General Melas, at the head of the Austrian cavalry, sustained the first shock of the Republicans, when the carnage became unspeakably horrible, the whole country from St. Giovanni to Placentia, a distance of about twelve miles, being covered with the dead, and the Trebia literally choaked up with dead carcases. The Polish legion, under general Dombrowsky, was surrounded by the Russians, when they formed themselves into a square battalion, and fought with the most determined bravery, but were at length almost wholly cut off. Suwarrow received a compliment on this victory, as they were pleased to term it; to which the veteran Russian is said to have returned for answer, "Victory! another such, and we are ruined!" Many such victories have we heard of, unaccompanied by Suwarrow's honesty, to view them in the light of defeats.

During the night which succeeded this third day of carnage, Macdonald again entered Placentia, which he left the ensuing day, and was obliged to abandon 3,000 wounded men to the mercy of the enemy, among whom were four generals, Rusca, Olivier, Salm, and Chambran. The commander in chief was likewise wounded, who, nevertheless, was enabled to retreat in good order, dividing his army

into two columns, one of them taking the route to Parma, and the other on the declivity of the mountains on the South-eaſt. His intention ſeemed to be to march towards Modena, and return to his camp at Piſtoia, while, in fact, he was meditating an entrance into the Ligurian republic, to effect a junction with general Moreau; for which purpoſe he poſted himſelf at Fornovo, marched through the valley of Taro, and took the road leading directly to Seſta. In his route to Placentia he had defeated the diviſions of Ott, Klenau, and Hohenzollern; but theſe generals, having again rallied their forces, were deſtined to purſue him.

In dividing his troops by iſolated operations general Suwarrow had certainly committed an egregious blunder; but he in a great meaſure compenſated for this by the rapidity of his marches and the capture of St. Giovanni, although he had allowed Macdonald to finiſh almoſt one of thoſe ſingular and difficult retreats which often diſtinguiſhed French generals during this war, and which impartial poſterity will not fail to admire. We muſt at the ſame time give Suwarrow credit for his military conduct upon this occaſion; ſince, had his operations been leſs active, or his march leſs rapid, the poſſibility did not exiſt of preventing a junction between Macdonald and Moreau, which would have deprived the Ruſſian general of the very chance of victory. While he conflicted with the army of Macdonald on the Trebia, General Moreau left Genoa with an army of 25,000 men, and took the route to Tortona by the way of Bocchetta, Gavi, and Novi. The Auſtrian troops, under the command of general Bellegarde, were forced, by the French, to abandon their

positions at St. Juliano, Cassini, Grando, or Grossa, and Spinetta, and compelled to retreat across the Bormida in the utmost precipitation.

One of the advantages that Moreau gained by this victory was the raising the siege of Tortona. After the battle of St. Giovanni, Suwarrow continued to pursue Macdonald beyond Placentia, in the expectation of overtaking him on the Taro, and surrounding him before he crossed the mountains, after collecting the scattered troops of Klenau and Hohenzollern; but, receiving intelligence of the victory obtained by general Moreau over Bellegarde, he gave up the pursuit of Macdonald's army, entrusting it to general Ott, and, with the principal part of his army, proceeded to meet general Moreau, and intercept his progress. During this march Suwarrow was informed of the surrender of the citadel of Turin, against which three hundred pieces of artillery were planted, on the 18th of June, for the purpose of destroying it, which were fired against it with such incessant and unremitting fury, that the cannonading of the citadel was silenced in the space of two days; when a number of officers of artillery and cannoneers were found to have perished, and several magazines destroyed. Fiorella, the commandant, requested a capitulation, which he obtained on terms analogous to those formerly granted to the garrisons of Milan and Ferrara.

This unexpected event was of singular advantage to the interest of the Allies, as it liberated General Kaim, whose forces began their march to join the grand army. Although the Republican generals had not as yet received their expected reinforcements from France, such were the effects produced by their

ſuperior knowledge and activity, that Suwarrow was obliged to rally his whole forces with the utmoſt expedition. The Ruſſian auxiliaries, under Vukaſſovich, were ordered to approach nearer to the main army; and, being reinforced by General Haddick, Suwarrow found himſelf at the head of 60,000 men. As the forces of Moreau did not exceed one-third of that number, after another conflict with Kaim and Bellegarde, on the 25th of June, he found it neceſſary to fall back on Genoa. About the latter end of June the whole of Italy might be ſaid to be in the hands of the Combined Powers, and nearly one-half of the Helvetic republic; after which a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities took place, that appeared of an involuntary nature on both ſides, as they mutually waited for reinforcements, to enable them to begin afreſh what has been emphatically denominated their *labours of death.*

In the ſpace of four months more men periſhed than was ever before known in the hiſtory of modern bloodſhed. If we take a part as a ſpecimen of the whole, we ſhall be enabled to ſtate that in the Voralberg, at the attack of Feldkirch, before they attacked the Griſons and the mountains of the Tyrol, there periſhed no leſs than ..... 22,500 men.

On the Danube, ...	13,000
On the paſſage of the Rhine by the Auſtrians, and the capture of Zurich	13,500
In Italy	64,000
	113,000

It will be found, upon a moderate calculation, if the ſick be included, that of 370,000 men, which

the belligerent powers brought into the field of battle, they loſt fully one-half of them in the ſpace of four months. Such a dreadful, and almoſt unexampled, carnage, preſents us with no very favourable picture of human nature, and proves, that man, unreſtrained by reaſon, has all the barbarous and ferocious propenſities of the lion and the tyger.

CHAPTER VIII.

Buonaparté's Campaigns in Egypt continued.—The Strength of his Army and its Disposition.—El Arish besieged and taken by Buonaparté.—The Army enters Gaza.—Jaffa taken and the Garrison put to the Sword.—Caiffa evacuated.—Buonaparté advances towards St. John D'Acre.

THOSE who have admired the enterprising spirit of Alexander, the retreat of the ten thousand under Xenophon, and the fortitude of Charles the Twelfth, will not regard the valorous struggles of the Republican generals wholly unworthy of praise. Massena, Moreau, Macdonald, and Buonaparté, were all placed in situations, where the slightest omission in either would have led to the inevitable destruction of his army: how the three former acquitted themselves we have just seen; and the suspension of their operations will permit us to return to the latter, whom we left preparing for the expedition to Syria, and who, it should be observed, was ignorant of the state of affairs in Europe, owing to the rigour with which the English blockaded the mouths of the Nile, and prevented any intelligence passing either in or out of Egypt. Buonaparté assigned a considerable reinforcement, under Davoust, to General Desaix, who had proceeded into upper Egypt, with orders to drive the Mamelukes beyond the cataracts of the Nile, and then ordered the departure of his own army. This force consisted of the divisions of General Kleber, who had under his command Generals Verdier and Junot, a part of two demi-brigades of light infantry

and of the 25th and 75th of the line; of the division of General Regnier, who had under his orders General Legrange, with the 9th and the 85th demi-brigade of the line; of the division of General Lasne, who had under his direction Generals Vaux, Robin, and Rambeau, with a party of the 22d demi-brigade of light infantry and of the 13th and 69th of the line; of the division of General Bon, under whose orders were placed Rampon and Vial, with a part of the 4th demi-brigade of light infantry, and of the 18th and 22d demi-brigades of the line; of the division of General Murat, with 900 cavalry, accompanied by four light 4-pounders. The artillery was commanded by General Daumartin and the engineers by General Caffarelli; the park of artillery consisted of four 12-pounders, three 8-pounders, five howitzers, and three 5-inch mortars; there were, besides, attached to each division two 8-pounders, two 6-inch howitzers, and two 3-pounders. To the guide parties, cavalry and infantry, were allotted four 8-pounders and two 6-inch howitzers. The different corps constituted an army of about 10,000 men.

The 19th demi-brigade, the 3d battalions of the demi-brigades on the Syrian expedition, the marine legion, the depots of the cavalry corps, and the Maltese legion, were partly stationed at Alexandria, Damietta, and Cairo, as garrisons, or formed into moveable columns, to retain the provinces of Lower Egypt in obedience, and to protect them against the Arabs. The commands in the other provinces were entrusted to Generals Beillard, Lannusse, Zayoncheck, Fugiers, Le Clerc, and the adjutant-general Almeyrac. Citizen Poussielgue, chief financial administrator, re-

mained at Cairo; the paymaſter-general of the army, Eſtire, accompanied the expedition. The command at Alexandria was one of very great importance, it could not properly be truſted but to an officer, who, to a thorough knowledge of artillery, added that of engineering and of military ſcience in general; that fortreſs, on account of the diſtance of Buonaparté, was almoſt independent of him, in a military and adminiſtrative point of view; added to theſe conſiderations, the Engliſh were in the neighbourhood, and ſymptoms of the plague were beginning to appear: at length the general of brigade, Marmont, a young officer of family and fortune, who married, a ſhort time before the expedition, the daughter of M. Peregaux, an eminent banker at Paris, received that important command.

Buonaparté ordered the adjutant general Almeyrac, to whom the command of Damietta was entruſted, to expedite the fortifications of that place, and to tranſport without delay the ſtores and proviſions acroſs the Lake Menzale to the port of Tineth, whence they were to be forwarded to the magazines at Cathieh, a march of about five hours. Some pieces of battering cannon were neceſſary for the reduction of Acre, in caſe of reſiſtance; to bring them by the way of the Deſart was impracticable; they were ordered to be put on board a ſquadron of four frigates, under the command of Perree, which lay at anchor in the road of Alexandria, and conveyed by ſea, in defiance of the Engliſh cruiſers: this was a hazardous project, but nothing more would be loſt by the fleet being taken to England now, than if it lay in port till the enemy might capture it there.

Buonaparté ordered the admiral to cruiſe off Jaffa,

and to keep up a communica ion with the army; he calculated upon their arrival within a given time. The utmoſt diligence was uſed at Cairo in collecting the neceſſary number of camels and mules for conveying the field artillery, the ſtores, ammunition, &c. neceſſary for the paſſage of an army through the Deſart.

General Kleber was ordered to embark with his diviſion at Damietta, the French being then complete maſters of the navigation of Lake Menzale, and to proceed acroſs the lake to Tineth, and from thence to march to Cathieh, where he was expected to arrive on the 4th of February. General Regnier quitted Belbeis, with his etât-major, on the 23d of January and arrived at Cathieh on the 4th of February, where he joined his advanced guard; the 6th he marched for El-Ariſh, which, together with the fort, was occupied by about 2,000 troops of the Pacha of Acre: General Legrange, with two pieces of cannon, formed the advanced guard of General Regnier's diviſion. On the 8th of February, when approaching the Fountains of Meſſondiat, he perceived a party of Mamelukes, but theſe were ſoon diſperſed. He arrived in the evening at a grove of palm trees, near the ſea and fronting El-Ariſh; the next day he advanced rapidly, and took poſſeſſion of ſome ſand-hills, which command El-Ariſh, on theſe heights he took a poſition and planted his artillery. The operations were ſpeedily commenced; General Regnier cauſed the charge to be beat, when the advanced guard advanced rapidly on the right and left of the village, which was attacked by Regnier himſelf in front. Notwithſtanding the advantageous poſition of the enemy, in a village ſituated in the form of an amphitheatre, in which

are a few houſes built with ſtone and covered by the fort; notwithſtanding a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance and a galling fire, the village was carried by the bayonet. the enemy retired into the fort, and barricadoed the doors with ſo much precipitation, as to exclude about 300 men, who were either killed or taken priſoners. General Regnier, on the ſame evening, blockaded the fort of El-Ariſh; ſoon after a corps of cavalry and infantry were diſcovered on the route from Gaza, which were eſcorting a convoy of proviſions for El-Ariſh; this reinforcement continually increaſed till the 13th of February, when the Mamelukes, emboldened by the ſuperiority of their cavalry, advanced, and pitched their tents within half a league of El-Ariſh, on a plain covered by a very ſteep ravine, where they conſidered themſelves ſafe from attack.

In the meantime General Kleber arrived with part of his diviſion. In the night between the 14th and 15th of February, a party of General Regnier's diviſion turned the ravine which covered the encampment of the Mamelukes, ruſhed into the camp, killed a great many, took a conſiderable number of camels, horſes, and priſoners, beſide great quantities of proviſions and warlike ſtores, together with the field equipages of the Mamelukes. On the ſecond day after this affair Buonaparté appeared before El-Ariſh.

The General in Chief received an expreſs from Alexandria, informing him, that the Engliſh ſquadron, recently reinforced, had bombarded that city and port; he immediately judged that this manœuvre was only intended to divert him from his propoſed expedition to Syria, the incipient operations of which had already alarmed the Engliſh and the Pacha of Acre. He, therefore, quietly ſuffered the former to

continue their bombardment, which produced little effect; on the 9th of February he proceeded from Cairo, with his etât-major, and on the 17th of February he arrived at El-Arish, where he was joined, at the same time, by the divisions of Generals Bon and Lasne and the corps of artillery.

General Regnier had previously directed a slight cannonade against the fort, and commenced his approaches; but not being furnished with a sufficient quantity of ammunition to batter it in breach, he summoned the commander of the fort and rendered the blockade closer; he had also advanced a mine under one of the towers, but this had been counterworked by the enemy. On the 18th of February the army took a position before El-Arish, on the sand-hills between the village and the sea: Buonaparté ordered one of the towers of the fort to be cannonaded, and, as soon as a breach was effected, the place was summoned to surrender. The garrison consisted of Arnauts, Maugrabins, &c. all barbarians, destitute of regular chiefs, and ignorant of the principles or usages of war as carried on between civilized nations. The besieged continued, alternately, to fire and parley; at length, on the 20th of February, the garrison, consisting of 1,600 men, surrendered, and laid down their arms, on the sole condition of their being allowed to retire to Bagdad across the Desart: a number of the Maugrabins entered into the French service. In the fort were only found about 250 horses, two dismounted pieces of artillery, and provisions for a few days. Buonaparté sent to Cairo the standards taken and the Mameluke prisoners.

General Kleber set out with his division and the

cavalry from El-Arish towards Kan-jounefs, a frontier viliage of Paleftine, near the Defart. On the 23d the head-quarters were removed from El-Arifh and deftined for Kan-jounefs; the General in Chief, the ftaff, &c. arrived upon the heights near that place without receiving any intelligence of General Kleber's divifion. Buonaparté difpatched fome of his efcort to the village; no French troops had arrived there: fome Mamelukes, who were in the place, fled to the camp of Abdallah Pacha, which was then at the diftance of about a league, on the route to Gaza. Buonaparté having only a picquet for his efcort, and convinced that Kleber's divifion muft have been mifled, fell back towards Santon, three leagues from Kan-jounefs, in the Defart. He there found the advanced guard of the cavalry; the guides, it appeared, had led General Kleber aftray in the Defart; but he ftopped fome Arabs, and compelled them to point out the right road, from which he had been mified nearly a day's march. His divifion arrived on the 24th, at eight o'clock in the morning, after a diftreffing march of forty-eight hours, during which he was without water! The divifions of Generals Bon and Lasne, who had followed the fame route, were alfo led aftray for fome time: thefe three divifions, which, according to orders, fhould have arrived and moved on fucceffively, thus arriving at Santon nearly at the fame time, the wells were foon exhaufted. With a laborious perfeverance, the foldiers, who were tormented by a burning thirft, funk wells in various places, but could only obtain a very partial and inadequate fupply of water. The divifion of General Regnier was ordered to remain at El-Arifh, for the purpofe of putting the fort, which is the key of Egypt

on the ſide of Syria, into a reſpectable ſtate of defence, after the priſoners of war had evacuated it, and alſo to wait until the field artillery ſhould advance. This diviſion was to form the rear-guard of the army at an interval of two days march.

About a league in front of the village of Kan-jouneſs are ſeveral columns of granite, and fragments of marble ſpars, which, at firſt ſight, were imagined to be the remains of an ancient monument; but, as the wells of Reffat lie at the diſtance of a few toiſes, are very neatly built, and afford abundance of good water, it is more probable that theſe ruins are the remains of a caravanſera, at which the caravans were accuſtomed to halt, in order to take in water for their journey acroſs the Deſart which ſeparates Syria from Egypt. The army had traverſed ſixty leagues of an arid and barren deſart; for the habitations at Cathieh and El-Ariſh are chiefly clay huts, with a few palm trees near the wells; its entrance, therefore, into the plains of Gaza, and the proſpect of the mountains of Syria was highly gratifying. At the approach of the army, Abdallah, who was encamped with his infantry, and the Mameluke corps, within a league of Kan-jouneſs, had quitted that ſtation, and fell back towards Gaza.

On the 25th of February, the army marched from Kan-jouneſs towards Gaza; about two leagues from that town a body of the Mameluke's cavalry was perceived upon the heights. Bonaparté immediately formed each of the diviſions into a ſquare; that of General Kleber formed the left, and was ordered to march againſt Gaza, on the right of the enemy; the diviſion of General Bon occupied the centre,

and advanced towards its front; the right was formed of the division of General Lasne, which marched towards the heights, and turned the positions which Abdallah occupied. General Murat, with the cavalry, and six pieces of cannon, marched in front of the infantry, and prepared to charge the enemy. At his approach, the cavalry of Abdallah made several irregular movements, and their confusion was manifest; at one time they suddenly advanced and seemed willing to charge; they, however, immediately made a retrogade movement. General Murat pushed forward, but failed in bringing the enemy to action; a party of their riflemen, however, were intercepted by General Kleber's division, by whom 21 were killed.

The army advanced about a league beyond Gaza, having established head quarters in the town. The fort is of a circular form, about forty toises in diameter, and flanked with towers. It contained 16,000 lbs. of powder, a great quantity of cartridges, and other warlike stores, together with several pieces of cannon. In the town were also found about 100,000 rations of biscuits, some rice, a number of tents, and a great quantity of barley. The inhabitants having sent deputies to meet the French, were treated as friends. The army remained the 26th and 27th in this quarter. Buonaparté employed himself, during that interval in organizing a system of civil and military government for the town and district; he formed a divan, consisting of the principal Turkish inhabitants of the place. On the 28th the army advanced towards Jaffa, where the Mamelukes and Turks were collecting their forces. The escorts of provi-

ſions and ammunition, forwarded from the magazines at Catheih, were at this time ſeveral days march in the rear of the army; but the ſtores which had been abandoned at Gaza, enabled the army to advance.

The Deſart, which lies between Gaza and Jaffa, is an immenſe plain, on which are numerous moving ſand-hills, that render the march of cavalry a work of great difficulty. The camels advanced ſlowly, and with pain; and the army was obliged, in the ſpace of about three leagues, to change the artillery horſes three times. On the 1ſt of March the army reſted at Ezdoud, and the 2d at Ramieh, a town inhabited for the greater part by Chriſtians; a quantity of biſcuit was found there, which the enemy had not time to remove, and nearly as much was found at the village of Lidda. The hordes of Arabs, who hovered about theſe villages, for purpoſes of plunder, took flight on the approach of the French; the advanced guard, which conſiſted of General Kleber's diviſion, arrived before Jaffa: the enemy, on his approach, retired into the body of the place. The other diviſions, and the cavalry arrived ſoon after. General Kleber's diviſion, and the cavalry were ordered to occupy a poſition on the river Lahoya, about two leagues on the route to Acre, for the purpoſe of covering the ſiege of Jaffa. The town was inveſted by the diviſions of Generals Bon and Lasne

Jaffa is ſurrounded by a wall, but deſtitute of a foſſe; it is flanked by towers, in good condition, on which cannon were mounted. Towards the ſea are erected two forts, which command the port and road. The point of attack fixed on, was to the

South of the town, againſt the higheſt and ſtrongeſt part of the works. In the night between the 4th and 5th the trenches were opened, a battery in breach was conſtructed, and two counter batteries, againſt the ſquare tower, the moſt commanding part of the whole front of attack. A battery was alſo erected to the North of the place, in order to effect a diverſion. The whole of the 5th and 6th were employed in advancing and completing the works. The Mamelukes made two ſorties, but were driven back with conſiderable loſs.

On the 6th, at day-break, the cannonade commenced, and at four o'clock the breach made was deemed practicable. An aſſault was ordered. The beſieged, at different times, made great efforts; but, a breach being effected, and the diviſion of General Lasne drove them from roof to roof, and from ſtreet to ſtreet; and, in a ſhort time, gained poſſeſſion of two forts. The diviſion of General Bon, which had been engaged in making falſe attacks, now entered the town near the port. The garriſon continued to defend themſelves deſperately, and, refuſing to lay down their arms, were put to the ſword; it conſiſted of about 12,000 Turkiſh gunners, about 2,500 Maugrabins or Arnauts. Three hundred Egyptians, who had ſurrendered, were ſent to Egypt. The loſs of the French army was inconſiderable.

When the French became maſters of the town and forts, the command of the place was given to General Robin, who ſucceeded in extinguiſhing thoſe diſorders which naturally follow an aſſault, eſpecially when obſtinately reſiſted. The inhabitants were protected, as far as it ſuited the purpoſes of the con-

querors: they returned to their respective habitations, and on the 7th order was restored. In the place was found, the field train sent to Dgezzar Pacha, by the Grand Seignior, which consisted of 40 pieces of artillery, cannon, or large howitzers; and 21 guns, brass or iron. In the port were 15 small trading vessels. Buonaparté gave the necessary orders for putting the town and port in a proper state of defence; and also for establishing an hospital and magazines. He constituted a divan, consisting of the most distinguished Turks of the place; and sent orders to the Admiral, Perree, to sail immediately from Alexandria, with the three frigates, and to repair to Jaffa. This port was intended to be the depot of every article that should be received from Alexandria and Damietta. As the place was rather exposed to descents and incursions. Buonaparté entrusted the command to the Adjutant General Gressier, an officer distinguished by his talents and bravery; but he soon died there, of the plague.

On the 15th of March General Kleber was encamped at Misky, in front of the position which he had taken for the purpose of covering the siege of Jaffa. The divisions of Generals Bon and Lasne, as well as the head quarters, removed from Jaffa and joined the advanced guard at Misky; the army marching onward to Zeta, the advanced guard observed a corps of cavalry. Abdallah Pacha, it appeared, had taken a position, with 2,000 cavalry, on the heights of Korsum, having on his left a body of about 10,000 Turks, who occupied a more elevated situation. The object of the Pacha was to check the progress of the army, and,

by taking a position on its flank, to force it to an action among the mountains and defiles of Naplouz, for the purpose of retarding its march to Acre. The divisions of Generals Bon and Kleber were immediately formed in squares, and advanced against the cavalry, who fled from the contest. General Lasne's division was ordered to march towards the right of Abdallah's force, for the purpose of intercepting its communication with the rest, and compelling him to retreat at once either to Acre or Damascus. This division, borne away by its ardour, pursued the Pacha into the heart of the mountains and defiles, and attacked the Naplouzin force with such vigour as to put it entirely to flight; the light infantry pursued with alacrity so far in front as to oblige the general to send them repeated orders to desist from a pursuit attended with no advantage; they, at length, obeyed, and the Naplouzians, regarding this retrogade movement as a retreat, pursued, in their turn, the light infantry; being acquainted with the defiles and advantageous situations among the mountains, they fired upon the French with great effect. The division endeavoured in vain to draw the Naplouzians from the mountains.

On the 15th the French lay all night under arms, near the tower of Zeta. The 16th of March the division of General Kleber advanced to Caiffa, which was abandoned on his approach; about 20,000 rations of biscuit, and an equal quantity of rice, was found in the place. Caiffa is surrounded by strong walls, flanked by towers, a castle defends the road and port; a tower, built with embrasures and embattled, commands the town at the distance of 150 toises, but the whole is overlooked

by the heights of Mount Carmel. The Mamelukes when they evacuated it, carried off the artillery, and all the military ſtores. The French left a garriſon in the caſtle, and on the 17th proceeded towards St. John d'Acre. The roads were in very bad condition, and the weather foggy, ſo that it was very late when they arrived at the entrance of the river which runs at the diſtance of 1,500 toiſes from the place, through marſhy grounds. The paſſage was dangerous to attempt during the night, as the cavalry and infantry, on the oppoſite bank, appeared in great force. General Andreoſſy was, notwithſtanding, diſpatched to examine the fords; he paſſed with the 2d battalion of the 4th light infantry, and took poſſeſſion, at night fall, of an eminence overlooking an entrenched camp. Beſſiere, *chef de brigade*, with a party of the guides, and two pieces of artillery, took a poſition between the works, and the river of Acre.

During the night a bridge was conſtructed, over which the army paſſed the river at day break, on the 8th. Buonaparté immediately led the army to an eminence which commanded St. John d'Acre, at the diſtance of a 1,000 toiſes. Parties of the Turks ſtill kept their ground without the place, in the gardens with which it is ſurrounded; but they were ſo briſkly attacked, that they ſoon retired within the works.

CHAPTER IX.

Buonaparté takes a Position before St. John d'Acre.—Sir Sydney Smith arrives in the Port with an English Force.—The French open the Trenches.—Contradictory Accounts of Sir Sydney Smith and General Berthier relative to the Capture of the French Artillery.—Progress of the Siege.—Tyre taken by the French.—Engagements at Nazareth.—Battle of Mount Tabor.

THE English had appointed that enterprising naval commander, Sir W. Sydney Smith, minister to the Porte, and he had arrived at Constantinople early in January. The plan of the Syrian campaign had been concerted between that officer and the Turkish Government, and the British forces were ready to co-operate with the Pacha of Acre at the time that Buonaparté reached that place. The English force was, comparatively, small, but it served to encourage the troops of the Pacha; and it was now that the French General first experienced an opposition that the combined energies of his power and talents were incapable of surmounting. The Republicans were not aware that any naval preparation had been made, and they took up their ground so near to the water-side, that Sir Sydney, who had witnessed their approach by the foot of Mount Carmel, saluted them by a galling fire from his boats, which obliged them to retire with precipitation.

The French took a position on an insulated eminence, commanding to the East a plain, about a league and three quarters in length, terminated by the mountains that lie between Acre and the river Jordan.

The provisions found in the magazines at Caiffa, and in the villages of Cheif-Amrs and Nazareth, were made use of for the subsistence of the army: the mills at Tanoux and Kerdanne were employed in grinding the corn; the army had eaten no bread since they left Cairo.

Buonaparté, in order to keep open the route to Damascus, garrisoned the castles of Saffet, Nazareth, and Cheif Amrs. Generals Dommartin and Caffarelli reconnoitered the fortress, and it was determined to attack the front of the salient angle to the Eastward: Samson, chief-de-brigade of the engineers, was wounded by a ball in the hand while reconnoitring the counterscarp. On the 20th the trenches were opened, and advantage was taken of the garden enclosures, the fosse of the old town, and an aqueduct that crossed the glacis, in their formation. A blockade was established to repulse sorties with advantage, and to intercept all communication: the French laboured incessantly at the erection of batteries *en breche* and cross batteries; but they received no intelligence of the battering cannon, that had been shipped at Alexandria.

A curious variation in the accounts given of the commencement of these operations, by the French and English commanders, gives rise to a train of reflections, by no means calculated to increase confidence in the statements of naval and military men. Sir Sydney says, That, as the French fired upon his boats with musketry, he judged that they had no cannon with them, and, of course, that they were to be expected by sea; he, therefore, detached a part of his squadron to Jaffa to look out for them, and was fortunate enough to reach that place [illegible] as they hove in.

ſight. It was in vain that this flotilla endeavoured to eſcape: ſeven veſſels, containing all the ammunition, platforms, and battering train of artillery, were captured; and only three ſmall veſſels got away, which contained Buonaparte's private property: thoſe prizes were manned and employed in raking the coaſt and diſtreſſing the enemy by land. This advantage, ſo important in its conſequences, was achieved with very little loſs, and was doubly miſchievous to Buonaparté, as he was not immediately acquainted with it; and, while he continued in expectation of his train, a ſufficient force arrived to render the whole project abortive. Of this circumſtance General Berthier, who writes an account of the ſiege, gives a very different relation:

"The commander of the Engliſh ſquadron," ſays he, "being informed that a great quantity of ſtores and proviſions were collected at Caiffa, formed the deſign of ſeizing them, and, at the ſame time, capturing ſeveral veſſels, that had recently arrived there from Jaffa, with proviſions for the army. The command at Caiffa was, proviſionally, intruſted to Lambert, *chef-d'eſcadron*, a diſtinguiſhed officer. On the 22d a ſmart cannonade was heard in the camp before Acre, in the direction at Caiffa: we were ſoon informed, that ſeveral Engliſh ſloops of war, armed with 32-pound carronades, had attacked Caiffa, and attempted to ſeize the tranſport veſſels that lay in the port; that the *chef-d'eſcadron*, Lambert, had given orders to ſuffer the Engliſh to approach very near to land without any ſhew of oppoſition; but, that he had concealed a howitzer, and placed in ambuſcade ſixty men, who compoſed his garriſon; and, that, at the very moment the enemy were on the point of

landing, he fell upon them, at the head of his brave men, boarded and took poſſeſſion of one of their ſloops, and alſo a 32-pounder, and made 17 priſoners: finally, that the fire from his howitzer was directed againſt the other ſloops with ſo much ſucceſs, that they, ſhortly, took to flight, having more than 100 men killed or wounded. The Engliſh commodore, thus repulſed, abandoned his deſign againſt Caiffa, and, ſoon after, came to an anchor before Acre."

Theſe kind of miſtatements, we fear, are too common: and, if we accept the narrative of Sir Sidney, as more entitled to credit in this inſtance, it is, becauſe the French officers have ſported with their reputation ſo much, in their details of this expedition, that they have forfeited all claim to belief!

The ſiege commenced on the 26th of March: the Turks made a ſortie, but were repulſed with loſs; the batteries in breach and the croſs batteries were completed. On the 28th field-pieces only were uſed to batter the tower in the line of attack. About three in the evening a breach was made; at the ſame time a mine, which was puſhed under the counterſcarp, was ſprung, which did little execution. The breach was deemed as practicable as that of Jaffa; but the French grenadiers had not advanced far when their courſe was arreſted by a foſſe, 15 feet deep, connected with a good counterſcarp. The fire from the place was terrible: the adjutants-general, Eſcale and Lagnier, were killed. An impulſe of terror, for a moment, unaccountably, affected a number of the Turks; they fled towards the port, but ſoon rallied and returned to the breach, which the French grenadiers in vain attempted to mount, its height being

near 10 feet above the rubbiſh. This circumſtance afforded the Pacha time to rally his forces and to aſcend to the parapet of the tower, whence they ſhowered down ſtones, grenades, and combuſtible materials, upon the aſſailants. A platoon of French grenadiers, who arrived near the foot of the breach, were unable to advance and obliged to return to the trenches.

The taking of Jaffa inſpired the French army with a degree of confidence that induced them to regard the works at Acre as of little importance; they ſeemed to conſider as an ordinary field operation, a ſiege which required all the reſources of the military art; the more ſo, as they were deſtitute of the artillery and the ammunition neceſſary for the attack of a place ſurrounded by a wall, flanked by ſtrong towers, and environed by a foſſe, with a ſcarp and counterſcarp. The beſieged, elated at the effect of their reſiſtance, made, on the 30th, a ſpirited ſortie, but were repulſed, and forced to retire within their walls.

On the 1ſt of April a frigate anchored in the road of Caiffa. The *chef-d'eſcadron*, Lambert, knew the flag to be Turkiſh; he prevented his men from appearing: the frigate, ignorant that Caiffa was in the hands of the French, ſent her longboat on ſhore, with the officer ſecond in command, and 20 men; they landed with compoſure, but Lambert ſurrounded them with his ſoldiers and made them priſoners.

The Britiſh ſhips had been driven from Acre by a ſtorm, which occaſioned the Turks to be left, for ſome days, alone in the combat: it happened fortunately for them, that previous arrangements laid Buonaparté under the neceſſity of drawing off a great part of his force about the ſame time.

Dgezzar had ſent his emiſſaries among the Naplouzians, and to the cities of Sidon, Damaſcus, and Aleppo; and, with them, conſiderable ſums of money, to induce all the Muſſulmen in thoſe parts, who were capable of bearing arms, to riſe *en maſſe*, for the purpoſe, as expreſſed in the firmans, of combating the infidels. This meaſure produced a conſiderable effect; large bodies of troops were aſſembling at Damaſcus, and magazines were eſtabliſhing at the fort of Tabarie, which was occupied by the Maugrabins. In expectation of theſe forces, Dgezzar cauſed frequent ſorties to be made, during the firſt days of the ſiege, which the French ſuppoſed to be with a view of facilitating the entry of thoſe forces, Buonaparté, therefore, was anxious to effect a breach before their arrival. He ordered that a lodgement in the tower, wherein a breach had been made, ſhould be attempted; but the Turks had filled the breach in ſuch a manner with ſandbags, timber, and bales of cotton, that the effort was impracticable; and, for want of ſome battering cannon, and a ſufficient ſtock of ammunition, he was unable to commence a new attack. In the meantime he laboured to eſtabliſh a mine under the tower, to blow it up, which would have laid open the place. This was an undertaking of great importance; but, the Turks made frequent ſorties, and hindered the operation.

It was now evident that the place would not be taken by a *coup de main*; and Buonaparté ſaw that he muſt uſe his endeavours to prevent the reinforcements reaching the town. General Vial was diſpatched to Tyre, where the inhabitants had armed in favour of the Pacha, with orders to make himſelf

maſter of the place. He arrived, after a march of eleven hours, through roads impaſſable to artillery, and diſcovered, on entering the plain, the veſtiges of an ancient fortreſs, and of two temples. At the approach of his force, the inhabitants were alarmed, and took to flight; he, however, quieted their apprehenſions, by promiſing to protect them; and, having left a garriſon of 200 men to guard the place, he quitted Tyre on the 5th of April.

Buonaparté was informed, by ſome Chriſtians from Damaſcus, that a conſiderable force, compoſed of Mamelukes, Janizaries of Damaſcus, Deletians, Allepins, and Maugrabins, was preparing to paſs the Jordan, in order to join the Arabs and Naplouzians, and to attack the French before Acre, at the ſame time that Dgezzar ſhould make a grand ſortie, ſupported by the fire of the Engliſh veſſels; he was alſo informed, that ſome troops had paſſed the bridge of Jacob on the Jordan. The officer who commanded the advanced poſts at Nazareth, ſent intelligence that another column had paſſed the bridge called Jefre-el-Meckanie, and had advanced to Tabarie, that the Arabs appeared in great numbers at the entrance of the mountains of Naplouze, and that Tabarie and Genin had received conſiderable ſupplies of proviſions.

The general of brigade, Junot, was ſent to obſerve their motions; he learned that the Mahomedans were aſſembling in conſiderable numbers on the heights of Loubi, about four leagues from Nazareth, in the direction of Tabarie, and that ſome of them had advanced to the village of Loubi. He marched, with a part of the 2d light infantry, three companies of the 19th, conſiſting of about 350 men, and

a detachment of 160 cavalry, drafted from different corps, for the purpofe of reconnoitring. At a fhort diftance from Ghafar-Kana, he perceived the enemy, on an eminence near Loubi; he purfued his march, turned the mountain, and found himfelf furrounded in an adjoining plain, by a body of about 3,000 cavalry. The moft intrepid of thefe rufhed upon his force, and obliged him to give the moft ftriking examples of courage to his foldiers, who fhewed themfelves worthy of their intrepid leader; and difperfed the affailants. General Junot, with his little force, gradually gained the heights near Nazareth, on which route he fought for the fpace of two leagues. This affair coft the French 60 men; which was a more ferious lofs to them than the 600 killed of the natives was to the Turks.

Buonaparté, on receiving intelligence of this engagement, ordered General Kleber to fet out from the camp before Acre with the remainder of the advanced guard, in order to join General Junot at Nazareth. He repaired to Nazareth for a fupply of provifions, and being informed that the enemy had not quitted their pofition near Loubi, he determined to march againft, and to attack them the next day, the 22d Germinal. He had fcarcely reached the heighths of Sed-jara, a quarter of a league from Loubi, and a league and a half from Kana, when the enemy defcended from their elevated pofition, and rufhed into the plain. General Kleber was immediately furrounded by a body of nearly 4,000 cavalry, and five or fix hundred foot, who prepared to charge him; this the General anticipated by attacking the cavalry, and, at the fame time, directing

a part of his force against the enemy's camp, near Sed-jara, which he carried; the enemy abandoned the field of battle, and retreated in disorder towards the Jordan, whither he could not pursue them for want of ammunition. The French then returned to the positions of Safarie, and of Nazareth, but were not long suffered to remain quiet, as the hordes lately defeated were joined by an immense body of Samaritans, or Naplouzians. The entire force, according to General Kleber's accounts, was between fifteen and eighteen thousand men; but the exaggerated statements of the inhabitants of the country increased their numbers to forty or fifty thousand. Buonaparté learned, also, that the country all round was rising to attack the posts which he had stationed in the wilderness, and determined that a decisive battle should be fought, with a view of effectually subduing a multitude, who, taking advantage of their numbers, harassed him with a desultory warfare, almost to the verge of his camp. He thought that if once routed, those people, who were under no necessity of fighting, would place little reliance on the assurances of Dgezzar; and that by the terror of his arms he should convert many of them into friends. He was fully aware of the disadvantages which would attend an action near his position before Acre; he, therefore, gave orders for making the necessary dispositions for the attack at a distance, and to force them to repass the Jordan. The route from Damascus, in crossing the Jordan, is, either on the right of the lake of Tabarie, by the bridge of Jacob, at three leagues distance from which is situated the castle of Saffet; or, on the

left of that lake, by the bridge of El-Meckanie, a ſhort diſtance from the fort of Tabarie. Theſe two fortreſſes are to the right of the Jordan.

General Murat marched from the camp before Acre with 1,000 infantry, and a regiment of cavalry. He was ordered to proceed with all poſſible expedition to the bridge of Jacob, of which he was to take poſſeſſion, in order to attack in the rear the force that inveſted Saffet, and afterwards to join, as ſoon as practicable, the troops under General Kleber, who was greatly in want of reinforcements; that officer, having intimated his intentions of turning the enemy's poſitions at Fouli and Tabarie, and to endeavour to ſurpriſe them by night in their camps.

Buonaparté left the ſiege of Acre to the generals Regnier, and Laſne, and ſet out from the camp, with the remainder of the cavalry, the diviſion of General Bon, and eight field pieces; he took a poſition on the heights of Safarie, where the troops were all night under arms. He marched towards Fouli, through the defiles which branched among the mountains, and arrived at the heights, from whence Fouli and Mount Tabor can be ſeen; he perceived, at the diſtance of about three leagues, the diviſion of General Kleber actually engaged with the enemy, whoſe force appeared to be about 25,000, all cavalry, and ſurrounding the French troops, who did not exceed 2,000. Buonaparté formed his force into three ſquares, one of which was cavalry, and prepared for turning the enemy at a conſiderable diſtance, in order to ſeparate them from the camp, cut off their retreat to Jennin, where their magazines were eſtabliſhed, and to drive them to the Jordan,

where General Murat could ſucceſsfully, and finally, encounter them. The cavalry, under the command of General Le Turq, with two light field pieces, were ordered to ſtorm the camp of the Mamelukes, while the infantry advanced againſt the main body.

General Kleber, on the march from his camp at Safarie, had been led aſtray by the guides, and retarded by the difficulties of the way, and the defiles he had to paſs; he was unable to come up with the Mamelukes, until being informed of his approach, by their advanced poſts on the heights of Harmon, they had time to make preparations for his reception. General Kleber formed his infantry into two ſquare columns, and occupied ſome ruins in his front. The enemy ſtationed the Naplouzian infantry, with two ſmall field pieces, brought by camels, in the village of Fouli: all the cavalry, to the amount of 25,000 ſurrounded the army of Kleber, but without ſucceſs; every effort to diſlodge it was defeated by ſuperior ſkill; the French muſketry and grape ſhot did conſiderable execution.

Buonaparte, on arriving within half a league from the ſcene of action, ordered General Rampon to march directly to the aſſiſtance of Kleber's diviſion and to attack the enemy on the flanks and in the rear. General Vial was ordered to proceed to the Mountains of Noures, in order to force the enemy towards the Jordan; and the infantry guides were commanded to direct the courſe of the remaining troops towards Jenin, ſo as to intercept their retreat to that quarter. At the moment the columns began to advance in their different directions, an eight pounder was diſcharged. General Kleber knowing by this ſignal of the approach of the General in Chief, no longer re-

mained on the defenſive, he advanced to the village of Fouli, which he attacked and carried by the bayonet; he then advanced rapidly, towards the cavalry, putting all thoſe who refiſted his progreſs to the ſword: at the ſame time Generals Rampon and Vial cut off the retreat of the enemy towards the mountains of Naplouze, and the infantry guides ſhot ſuch as attempted to eſcape towards Jenin. Diſorder and heſitation prevailed; the enemy ſaw their retreat to their camp intercepted, they were cut off from their magazines, and ſurrounded by their adverſaries on all ſides; at length they determined to ſeek for refuge in the rear of Mount Tabor; this ſituation they gained, and retreated during the night, over the bridge of El-Mekanie; ſome, in endeavouring to paſs at a ford, were drowned in the Jordan.

General Murat had driven the Turks from their poſition at the bridge of Jacob, ſurpriſed the ſon of the Governor of Damaſcus, carried his camp, killed a great number of men, raiſed the blockade of Saffet, and purſued the enemy ſeveral leagues on the route to Damaſcus. The column of cavalry, under the order of the Adjutant-General Le Turq, had ſurpriſed the camp of the Mamelukes, carried off 500 camels, with all their proviſions, killed a great number of men, and made 250 priſoners. Whilſt the army remained under arms at Mount Tabor, Buonaparté reſorted to his uſual mode of encouraging the troops, by repreſenting thoſe trifling advantages as affairs of the greateſt conſequence. From this point, intelligence of the recent ſucceſſes were diſpatched to the different corps occupying Tyre, Ceſarea, the Cataracts of the Nile, the Peluſian

mouths, Alexandria, the posts on the borders of the Red Sea, at the ruins of Kolsum, and at Arsinoe.

The Naplouzians of Noures, Jenin and Fouli, had not ceased, since the commencement of the siege of Acre, to attack the convoys of the French army, to keep up a correspondence with Dgezzar, and to give him every assistance in their power; these hostile proceedings holding out a most dangerous example, Buonaparté ordered these villages to be burned, and to put all found therein to the sword. General Murat advanced to Taborie, where he took possession of the warlike stores and great quantities of provisions, which the enemy had abandoned. General Kleber took a position at Nazareth; he was ordered to occupy the bridges of Jacob and El-Mekanie, the castles of Saffet and Taborie, and charged narrowly to watch the banks of the Jordan.

The result of the battle of mount Tabor was, the discomfiture of 25,000 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry, by 4000 French troops; the capture of all the enemy's magazines in these parts, and their flight to Damascus. By their own accounts their loss exceeded 5000 men; and they were at a loss to conceive how, at the same moment, they could have been defeated on a line extending nine leagues, so little notion had they of combined operations.

Buonaparte now returned to Acre, imagining that he had accomplished great objects; but, in reality, he had been merely promoting the views of the British and Turkish commanders.

CHAPTER X.

Buonaparté continues the Siege of Acre—Various Operations of the Besiegers and Besieged.

BUONAPARTE now being informed that Admiral Perree was before Jaffa, and that he had landed three 24, and six 18-pounders, with a quantity of ammunition; he gave orders that Admiral Gantheaume should cruise with the frigates between the coasts of Syria and Cyprus, in order to seize on the vessels which were conveying supplies of ammunition and provisions to Acre. Some Arabs, posted in the environs of Mount Carmel, at the desire of Sir S. Smith and the Pacha, interrupted the communications of the French army. General Le Turq was sent, with a corps of 300 men, in order to disperse them; he surprised their camp, killed 61, and brought away 800 head of cattle, which were of great service to the army. But still Buonaparté had effected no part of his object, and was further from its attainment than on his first arrival, for the British Commodore had caused such formidable works to be erected, that all further attempts were useless, and only served to shew the General's disregard of human life. At the end of one month after the trenches had been opened before the town, the only advantage that Buonaparté had gained, was, that his army had killed Major Oldfield, Captain Wilmot, and Colonel Phillipeau, three of the most able officers in the English army, with an immense number of persons of less consequence, in the numerous sorties that were made from the garrison. The ships and boats in the port continued to

annoy his camp inceſſantly, and it became neceſſary, in the opinion of Buonaparté, that deciſive meaſures ſhould ſtill be hazarded.

On the 25th of April, a mine intended to blow up the tower, near the breach, was completed, and the batteries were opened upon the place. The mine was ſet fire to, but a ſubterraneous paſſage under the tower preſenting a line that weakened the reſiſtance, the mine blew up but on one ſide of the tower, and the breach remained in ſuch a ſtate as to be difficult of acceſs as before. Buonaparté ordered 30 grenadiers to get into the tower, and reconnoitre its means of communication with the reſt of the fortreſs; they advanced as far as the ruins under the arch of the upper ſtory, but the Allies, who kept up a communication by means of the narrow vaulted paſſages, and who were in poſſeſſion of the ruins of the upper arches, ſhowered down ſuch quantities of burning materials upon them, that thoſe who were not entirely diſabled haſtily retreated.

On the 25th, in the evening, an attempt was made to effect a lodgment in the firſt ſtory, and workmen were employed ſeveral hours for the purpoſe of rendering it more practicable: but the Turks allowed them to approach the breach only to get them within their power; they threw down burning materials upon them, and compelled them again to retire from the tower.

The Britiſh, in order to defend their front of attack, of which almoſt all the cannon were diſmounted, ran out a ravelin on each ſide of the enemy's approach, which was worked by the Engliſh marines, under a conſtant cannonade from the French; batteries were alſo formed, which advantageouſly flanked the tower

and the breach. The Engliſh and the Turks laboured at theſe works without ceſſation, and every ſtep was taken to increaſe the effect of the fire from the flanking batteries, and to prepare for a counter attack againſt the trenches of the beſiegers. Under cover of the fire from the towers and elevated walls, they formed their outworks with a degree of facility; and it was evidently impoſſible for the French to make any impreſſion without a far ſuperior artillery, and a greater quantity of ammunition than they were provided with: ſeveral times did they carry theſe works, but were always driven from them.

On the 1st of May four 18-pounders were directed againſt the tower, for the purpoſe of widening the breach; in the evening 20 grenadiers were ordered to effect a lodgment in the tower, and, in ſome meaſure, ſucceeded; but they were expoſed to a croſs fire of the marines in the foſſe, and, feeling the impoſſibility of paſſing through the tower, deſiſted from the attempt. At the moment the grenadiers were mounting the breach at the tower the beſieged made a ſtrong ſortie from their right; they were charged by two companies of grenadiers with ſuch impetuoſity and effect, that all thoſe who could not retire under the protection of the fire from the gunboats, were cut off or driven into the ſea.

Buonaparté gave orders that a ſecond breach ſhould be made in the curtain of the fortifications to the Eaſtward: a ſapping againſt the foſſes, and the formation of a mine, in order to blow up the counterſcarp, were alſo ordered. Until the 4th of May the works and operations of the beſiegers and the beſieged were carried on with great ardour and activity;

when the ammunition of the French began to fail, and Buonaparté ordered the fire to be ſlackened. Perceiving this, the beſieged carried on their ſapping with greater activity than ever, particularly that on the right, the object of which was to prevent the French ſapping from communicating with the new mine. At ten o'clock at night, ſome companies of grenadiers began to ſtorm the outworks; the Turkiſh advanced guard was ſurpriſed, many of them put to the ſword, the works taken poſſeſſion of and three of the guns ſpiked; but the fire of the place, to which theſe works were completely expoſed, prevented the French remaining long enough to deſtroy them, and they were re-entered by their former poſſeſſors. The main object of the beſieged was to counteract the mine, which was intended for blowing up the counterſcarp that had been formed in front of the new breach in the curtain, and at this they laboured with the greateſt activity. In the morning of the 6th they made extraordinary exertions for the purpoſe, but not ſucceeding to their wiſhes, they immediately determined to cut through their counterſcarp, as near as poſſible to the mine; at three o'clock the French perceived that they were opening, by a covert ſapping, the maſk of the mine; Buonaparté cannonaded them, but the miſchief was done; the mine was completely counterworked, a vent opened, and the frame deſtroyed.

The old breach at the tower now appeared the only point againſt which he could direct his attacks with any proſpect of ſucceſs. Buonaparté, therefore, iſſued orders, that, in the night between the 6th and 7th, the troops ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the outworks, which were erected for flanking the breach, and particularly that which crowned the glacis, near

the firſt mine; that the attack ſhould be made as expeditiouſly as poſſible: and that all thoſe who occupied the works ſhould be put to the ſword, and a lodgment therein ſecured. Theſe orders were partly effected by the riflemen of the 87th, and a body of grenadiers, who gained poſſeſſion of the works, except thoſe which crowned the glacis, near the old mine, and flanked the tower; they were, however, checked by the terrible fire from the town, which rendered all theſe deſperate efforts unavailing, and compelled the goaded ſoldiers, once more, to retire, with great loſs.

On the 7th of May 30 ſail of Turkiſh ſhips arrived at Acre, from the Iſland of Rhodes, laden with ſtores and proviſions for the beſieged, and brought, beſides, a conſiderable reinforcement of troops; they were under convoy of a caravel and ſeveral armed corvettes, commanded by Haſſan Bey. Buonaparté diſcovered this fleet as ſoon as it hove in ſight; and, anxious that ſome deciſive operation ſhould take place before the arrival of the ſuccours, gave orders that a renewal of the attack ſhould take place during the night. At ten o'clock the fire of the beſiegers was increaſed tenfold, the ravelins, the work upon the glacis, and the tower upon the breach, were all carried, and a lodgement made in the tower. The 18th and 32d demi-brigades filled up the newly conſtructed works with the bodies of their ſlain; they ſpiked a number of cannon; and neither ſuffered the determined reſiſtance of the Anglo-Turks, nor the tremendous fire from the batteries to retard their progreſs. Never, on any occaſion, was more valour or intrepidity diſplayed than upon this occaſion. Generals Bon, Vial, and Rampon, were at the head of the demi-brigades, and afforded the moſt ſtriking examples of active

courage combined with cool determination. Boyer, chief of the 18th, was killed in this attack; and 150 of those intrepid fellows, 17 of them officers, were killed and wounded.

The flanking fire from the shipping was, as usual, plied to the utmost, but with less effect than heretofore, as the French had thrown up epaulments and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect them from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were, a French brass 18-pounder in the Lighthouse Castle, manned from the Theseus, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, master's-mate, and the last mounted 24-pounder in the North ravelin, manned from the Tigre, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman: these guns, being within grape distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musketry, did great execution, and were highly creditable to the two officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal merited the warmest praise. Two 68-pound carronades, belonging to the Tigre, were mounted in two germes lying in the mole, and worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of that ship, threw shells into the centre of the French column, and checked it considerably. Still, however, they gained ground, and Generals Lasnes and Rombaud, with 200 men, made a lodgment in the second story of the North-east tower; the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted. Day light discovered the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened, in comparison to that of the besiegers, and the flanking fire was become of less effect; the French having

covered themſelves in this lodgment, and the approach to it, by two traverſes acroſs the ditch (which they had conſtructed under the fire that had been oppoſed to them during the whole of the night) and which were compoſed of ſand-bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them, their bayonets only being viſible above them. Haſſan Bey's troops were in the boats, though, as yet, but half-way to ſhore: this was the moſt critical point of the conteſt for the Engliſh and Turkiſh commanders, and their utmoſt exertions were neceſſary to preſerve the place till the boats could arrive. Accordingly, Sir Sidney Smith landed his boats at the mole, and took the crews up to the breach, armed with pikes. The enthuſiaſtic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at ſight of ſuch a reinforcement, at ſuch a time, was not to be deſcribed. Many fugitives were encouraged to return to the breach, which was yet defended by a few brave Turks, whoſe moſt deſtructive miſſile weapons were heavy ſtones, which, ſtriking the aſſailants on the head, overthrew the foremoſt down the ſlope, and impeded the progreſs of the reſt. Dgezzar Pacha hearing that the Engliſh were on the breach, quitted his ſtation, where, according to the ancient Turkiſh cuſtom, he was ſitting to reward ſuch as ſhould bring him the heads of the enemy, and diſtributing muſket cartridges with his own hands, and, coming behind them, pulled them down with violence; ſaying, "If any harm happened to his Engliſh friends, all was loſt." This amicable conteſt, as to who ſhould defend the breach, occaſioned a ruſh of Turks to the ſpot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the firſt body of Haſſan Bey's troops. The garriſon, animated by the

appearance of fuch a reinforcement, was now all on foot, and there being confequently enough to defend the breach, Sir Sidney Smith gave directions to the colonel, Solomon Aga, to get poffeffion of the enemy's third parallel, or neareft trench, and there fortify himfelf, by fhifting the parapet outwards. The gates were opened, and the Turks rufhed out; but they were not equal to fuch a movement, and were driven back to the town, with lofs. Mr. Bray, however, protected the town-gate efficaciouffy, with grape, from the 68-pounders. The fortie obliged the enemy to expofe themfelves above their parapets, fo that the flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach, and the fmall number remaining on the lodgment were killed or difperfed by a few hand grenades, thrown by Mr. Savage, midfhipman of the Thefeus. The enemy began a new breach, by an inceffant fire directed to the Southward of the lodgment, every fhot knocking down whole fheets of a wall much lefs folid than that of the tower, on which they had expended fo much time and ammunition. The group of generals and aid-du-camps which the fhells from the 68-pounders had frequently difperfed, now re-affembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Buonaparté was diftinguifhable in the centre of a femicircle; his gefticulations indicated a renewal of the attack, and his difpatching an aid-du-camp to the camp fhewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. Sir Sidney made his arrangements accordingly, and gave directions for Haffan Bey's fhips to take their ftations in the fhoal water to the Southward, and the Tigre received orders to weigh, and join the Thefeus to the Northward. A little before funfet, a maffive column

appeared advancing to the breach with a ſolemn ſtep. The Pacha's idea was, not to defend the breach this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then cloſe with them, according to the Turkiſh mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmoleſted, and deſcended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the braveſt and moſt advanced among them lay headleſs corpſes, the ſabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the reſt retreated precipitately; and General Laſne, who was ſeen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, was carried off wounded by a muſket ſhot. Much confuſion aroſe in the town from the actual entry of the French, it having been impoſſible, nay, impolitic, to give previous information to everybody of the mode of defence adopted, leſt the French ſhould come to a knowledge of it, by means of their numerous emiſſaries. The French now imagined that their work was done, and preſſed forward with additional courage, and they were greatly favoured by the difficulty that the Turks found in diſtinguiſhing their friends from their enemies. The Engliſh uniform, which had hitherto ſerved as a rallying point for the old garriſon, wherever it appeared, was now miſtaken for French, the newly arrived Turks not diſtinguiſhing between one hat and another in the crowd; and thus many a ſevere blow of a ſabre was parried by the Engliſh officers, among which Colonel Douglaſs, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly loſt their lives, as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives; the miſtake was corrected by the Pacha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotter, who

had just arrived with Hassan Bey. The breach being perfectly practicable for 50 men a-breast, nothing but the most determined courage could resist the impetuosity of the French troops; a close combat ensued, and man to man fought with the greatest fury. General Rombaud was killed, and Buonaparté saw that his troops were likely to suffer so much by continuing the contest, that he gave them orders to retreat.

On returning to their camp, the French learned, through Admiral Gantheaume, that Admiral Perree, while cruising before Jaffa, had taken two vessels, that had separated from the Turkish fleet; on board these were found six pieces of field artillery, a considerable quantity of harnesses, and provisions; 150,000 livres in specie, 400 soldiers, and the Commissary of the Turkish fleet. On the person of this officer, was found a statement of the number of troops embarked in the fleet, and of the quantity of warlike stores and provisions; and the French understood from him, that the fleet made part of an armament for an intended expedition against Alexandria, combined with one which Dgezzar had undertaken by land; but, that on receiving the intelligence of the unforeseen attack upon St. John d'Acre, they had dispatched the fleet, together with the troops, the utmost force they could then collect, to the relief of that place. This change in their destination took place at the pressing request of Sir Sidney Smith.

During the day and night of the 9th of May the French batteries continued to fire; the 10th, at two o'clock in the morning, Buonaparté closely viewed the breach, and gave orders for a new assault. The

riflemen of the different divisions, the grenadiers of the 15th and 19th, and the carbineers of the 2d light infantry, mounted the breach; they surprised the outposts, and put those found therein to the sword; but their progress was stopped by some newly formed intrenchments, which they were utterly unable to force; they were, therefore, obliged to retreat in confusion. The firing from the batteries continued the whole day; at four in the afternoon the grenadiers of the 25th demi-brigade solicited from Buonaparté the honour of being permitted to begin the assault; their request was granted: they rushed forward, but the Anglo-Turkish troops had formed a second and a third line of defence, to force which required an entire new disposition; the troops, therefore, were again ordered to retreat. The three last assaults cost the army about 200 killed, and 500 wounded; among the latter was General Bon, who afterwards died of his wounds. The Adjutant-general Fouler, Venoux, chief of the 25th, and the assistants to the adjutant-generals, Pinault and Gerbault, and Citizen Croisier, aide de camp to the General in Chief, were also mortally wounded. Citizen Arrighy, aide de camp to General Berthier, and the assistants to the adjutants-general, Netherwood and Monpatris, were severely wounded. The rear of the parallels, and the whole space between the two armies, was covered with dead bodies, the stench of which became intolerable, and obliged the French to desist for a time, from any further operation.

CHAPTER XI.

Continuation of the Siege of Acre.—Proclamation of the Porte, by Sir Sidney Smith, to the French Army.—Buonaparté raifes the Siege of Acre.—His Proclamation to his Army.—Sir Sidney Smith's important Difpatches on the Siege being raifed.

BUONAPARTE now wrote to the Pacha to defire a truce, for the purpofe of enabling both fides to bury their dead, and demanded an exchange of prifoners; but, as he made no mention of the Englifh Commander, Dgezzar paid Sir Sidney Smith the compliment of leaving the anfwer entirely to him. No anfwer was fent to the propofal till the 17th, fix days after it had been received; and the bearer of the difpatch carried with him the following

PROCLAMATION.

The Minifter of the SUBLIME PORTE *to the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers, of the French Army in Egypt.*

"The French Directory, entirely forgetting the rights of nations, has led you into an error, beguiled your good faith, and, in contempt of the laws of war, fent you to Egypt, a country fubject to the dominion of the Sublime Porte, perfuading you that it could confent to the invafion of its territories.

"Can you doubt, that, in thus fending you to a diftant region, its fole end has been to exile you from France, to plunge you into an abyfs of dangers, and to confign you to deftruction? If, under a total ignorance of your fituation, you have entered the land of Egypt; if you have ferved as the inftruments of a violation of treaties, hitherto

unknown among powers, is it not ſolely through the perfidy of your Directors? Yes, without doubt. Egypt, however, muſt be delivered from an invaſion ſo iniquitous. Innumerable armies, for that purpoſe, are this moment on their march, and immenſe fleets already cover the ſeas.

"Thoſe among you, of whatever rank, who wiſh to withdraw from the perils that await you, muſt, without delay, manifeſt your intentions to the commanders of the marine and land forces, of the Allied Powers; and you may reſt aſſured of being conducted to thoſe places, to which you are deſirous of proceeding, and that you ſhall be furniſhed with paſſports, in order that you may not be moleſted on your route by the cruiſers, or ſquadrons of the Allied Powers. Haſten, therefore, in time, to take advantage of the benign intentions of the Sublime Porte, and regard this, as a propitious offer of extricating yourſelves from the frightful abyſs into which you have been plunged.

"*Done at Conſtantinople, the 11th of the Moon Ramazan, the year of Hegira* 1213, (*February 5th*, 1799.")

"I, the underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the King of England, at the Ottoman Porte, at preſent commanding the combined fleet, before Acre, certify the authenticity of this Proclamation, and guarantee the execution of it.

(Signed) SIDNEY SMITH."

"*On board the Tigre, 10th of May*, 1799."

This Proclamation gave great offence, as well as an expreſſion in the anſwer to the propoſal, "Does he not know, aſked Sir Sidney, "that it is for me to diſpoſe of the ground that lies under my artillery!" —The firing continued [illegible] ſides.

About this peri[illegible] received intelligence of vari[illegible]

peared to be connected with a general ſyſtem of external attack meditated againſt the French in Egypt. At Cairo, and in the other principal towns, the public tranquillity was not diſturbed in the ſmalleſt degree; but in the provinces of Beniſhef, Charkie, and Bahere, it was with very great difficulty that theſe diſturbances were quelled, notwithſtanding all the activity of the French troops and generals. The moſt alarming news, however, was, that an Engliſh frigate had approached Suez, whence it was to be feared that a force might be landed in that quarter, which would place the army between two fires; and it appeared no longer to be a matter of choice whether the ſiege ſhould be raiſed, and the army take the only chance remaining of ſaving itſelf. Two months had nearly elapſed, and the undertaking ſeemed more difficult than ever; indeed, Buonaparté now only waited under the walls till he could find an excuſe for abandoning his enterpriſe; doubtleſs, he truſted to his ingenuity to help him out, and he availed himſelf of the interval to call in his outpoſts, and to ſend forward his ſick and wounded; at length, when he thought he could tell a good ſtory to the army, he announced his determination to return to Egypt, in the following

PROCLAMATION.

At Head Qarters, before Acre, the 28th Floreal, (*17th May*) *an.* 7, (1799.)

BONAPARTE, *General in Chief.*

" Soldiers

" You have traverſed the deſart which ſeparates Africa from Aſia, with the rapidity of an Arab force!

"The army, which was on its march to invade Egypt, is destroyed; you have taken its general, its field artillery, camels, and its baggage; you have taken all the fortified ports which secure the wells of the Desart, and you have dispersed, in the districts of Mount Tabor, those swarms of brigands, collected from all parts of Asia, in the hope of sharing the plunder of Egypt.

"The thirty ships, which, twelve days since, you saw enter the port of Acre with troops, were destined for an attack upon Alexandria; have been compelled to hasten to the relief of Acre, and several of their standards will contribute to adorn your triumphal entry into Egypt.

"Finally, after having, with a handful of men, maintained the war, during three months, in the heart of Syria, taken forty pieces of cannon, fifty stand of colours, six thousand prisoners, and rased or destroyed the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, and of Acre, we prepare to return to Egypt, where the approaching season for landing imperiously calls for our presence.

"A few days longer might give you the hope of taking the Pacha in his palace; but, at this season, the castle of Acre is not worth the loss of those days, nor of those brave soldiers who must fall in the time, and are now necessary for more essential services.

"Soldiers!—we have yet a toilsome and perilous task to perform. After having secured ourselves from attacks from the Eastward this campaign, it will, perhaps, be necessary we should repel the efforts made from the West. You will, in that case, have new opportunities of acquiring glory; and if, engaged in so many encounters, each day is marked by the death of a brave comrade, fresh soldiers will come forward, and supply the ranks of that select number, which best gives an irresistable impulse in the moment of danger, and commands victory."

On the 20th of May at nine in the evening, the *generale* was beat, and the siege, which lasted 60 days,

after the opening of the trenches, was raiſed; but as the concluſion of the ſtruggle has been ſo ably ſtated by the Britiſh Commander, it would be doing injuſtice to our Hiſtory to ſuppreſs his own Diſpatch.

" *Tigre, at anchor off Jaffa, May* 30, 1799.

" My Lord,

The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifeſted, in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army, the means we had of oppoſing its gigantic efforts againſt us being totally inadequate, of themſelves, to the production of ſuch a reſult. The meaſure of their iniquities ſeems to have been filled by the *maſſacre* of the Turkiſh priſoners at Jaffa, in cool blood, *three* days after their capture: and the Plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Buonaparté's extraordinary career. He raiſed the ſiege of Acre on the 20th May, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the ſea, where, however, it is viſible, and can eaſily be weighed. The circumſtances which led to this event, ſubſequent to my laſt diſpatch of the 9th inſtant, are as follows:

Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the ſuppoſed irreſiſtible prowes of theſe invaders, muſt be changed, ſince they had witneſſed the checks which the beſieging army daily met with in their operations before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Chriſtians of Mount Lebanon, and alſo to the Sheiks of the Druſes, recalling them to a ſenſe of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the ſupplies from the French camp. I ſent them, at the ſame time, a copy of Buonaparté's impious Proclamation, in which he boaſts of having overthrown all Chriſtian eſtabliſhments, accompanied by a ſuitable exhortation, calling upon them to chooſe between the friendſhip of a Chriſtian Knight and that of an unprincipled Renegado. This letter had all the effect I could deſire. They immediately ſent me two ambaſſadors,

professing not only friendship but obedience; assuring me, that, in proof of the latter, they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp, and placing eighty prisoners of this description at my disposal. I had thus the satisfaction to find Buonaparté's career farther Northward effectually stopped by a warlike people, inhabiting an impenetrable country. General Kleber's division had been sent Eastward, towards the fords of the Jordan, to oppose the Damascus army; it was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division, in succession, had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It seems much was hoped from this division, as it had, by its firmness, and the steady front it opposed, in the form of a hollow square, kept upwards of 10,000 men in check, during a whole day, in the plain between Nazareth and Mount Tabor, till Buonaparté came with his horse-artillery, and extricated these troops, dispersing the multitude of irregular cavalry, by which they were completely surrounded.

The Turkish Chifflick regiment having been censured for the ill success of their sally, and their unsteadiness in the attack of the garden, made a fresh sally the next night; Soliman Aga the Lieutenant-colonel, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders I had given him, to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel, and this he did most effectually; but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Buonaparté's intention, was thus obliged to spend its time and its strength in recovering these works, in which it succeeded, after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing in *statu quo*, except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides. After this failure, the French

grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more, over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions sacrificed, in former attacks, by Buonaparté's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors as even seamen could take advantage of. He seemed to have no principle of action but that of pressing forward, and appeared to stick at nothing to obtain the object of his ambition, although it must be evident to every body else, that, even if he succeeded to take the town, the fire of the shipping must drive him out of it again in a short time: however, the knowledge the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa rendered them desperate in their personal defence. Two attempts to assassinate me, in the town, having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of every law of honour and of war: A flag of truce was sent into the town, by the hand of an Arab dervise, with a letter to the Pacha, proposing a cessation of arms, for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which became intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us, on both sides. Many having died delirious within a few hours after being seized with the first symptoms of infection; it was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition, and that we should, consequently, be off our guard during the conference. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells, on a sudden, announced an assault, which, however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of the dead bodies in question, to the eternal disgrace of the General who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, from whence I sent him back to the General, with a message, which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof. Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put in execution in the night between the 20th and 21st instant.

I have ſaid above, that the battering train of artillery, (except the carriages, which were burnt) is now in our hands, amounting to 23 pieces. The howitzers and medium 12-pounders originally conveyed by land, with much difficulty, and ſucceſsfully employed to make the firſt breach, were embarked in the country veſſels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coaſtwiſe, together with the worſt among the 2000 wounded, which embarraſſed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected; I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta, before the French army could get as far as the former place. The veſſels being hurried to ſea without ſeamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every neceſſary, even water and proviſions, they ſteered ſtrait to his Majeſty's ſhips, in full confidence of receiving the ſuccours of humanity, in which they were not diſappointed. I have ſent them on to Damietta, where, they will receive ſuch further aid as their ſituation requires, and which it was out of my power, to give to ſo many. Their expreſſions of gratitude to us were mingled with execrations on the name of their General, who had, as they ſaid, thus expoſed them to peril rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourſe with the Engliſh, which he had broken off by a falſe and malicious aſſertion, that I had intentionally expoſed the former priſoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army be it ſaid, this aſſertion was not believed by them, and it thus recoiled on its author: the intention of it was evidently, to do away the effect which the Proclamation of the Porte began to make on the ſoldiers, whoſe eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive them, when thrown from the breach. He cannot plead miſinformation as his excuſe, his Aid-de-camp, Mr. Laliemand, having had free intercourſe with theſe priſoners on board the Tigre when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat their expreſſions of contentment at the proſpect of going home. It was evident to both ſides, that when a general

had recourse to such a shallow, and, at the same time, to such a mean artifice as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end, and the defection in his army, was consequently, increased to the highest pitch.

The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole track between Acre and Gaza is strewed with dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the effect of slight wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gunboats annoyed the van column of the retreating army on its march along the beach, and the Arabs harassed its rear when it turned inland, to avoid their fire. We observed the smoke of musketry behind the sand-hills, from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats, and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pacha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Buonaparté's preparation for retreat, having entered this town by land, at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Naplousians. The English flag, rehoisted on the Consul's house (under which the Pacha met me) serves as an asylum for all religions and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen, lying on the bodies of those whom they had massacred two months ago, afford another proof of divine justice, which has caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital, where they are protected, and shall be taken care of. We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done; and Ismael Pacha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. Two thousand cavalry are just dispatched to harass the French rear; and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assembling of sufficient force, and on the exertions, of which I am not absolutely

maſter, though I do my utmoſt to give the neceſſary impulſe, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ſhips under my orders, who, in the face of a moſt formidable enemy, have fortified a town that had not a ſingle heavy gun mounted on the land ſide, and who have carried on all intercourſe by boats, under a conſtant fire of muſketry and grape, will be able efficaciouſly to aſſiſt the army in its future operations. This letter will be delivered to your Lordſhip by Lieutenant Canes, firſt of the Tigre, whom I have judged worthy to command the Theſeus, as captain, ever ſince the death of my much-lamented friend and coadjutor, Miller. I have taken Lieutenant England, firſt of that ſhip, to my aſſiſtance in the Tigre, by whoſe exertions, and thoſe of Lieutenant Summers and Mr. Atkinſon, together with the bravery of the reſt of the officers and men, that ſhip was ſaved, though on fire in five places at once, from a depoſit of French ſhells burſting onboard her.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Right Hon. Lord NELSON, *Rear Admiral of the Blue, &c. &c.*

CHAPTER XII.

The Expedition of Desaix into Upper Egypt.—He fortifies himself at Cosseir.—Buonaparté arrives at Cairo, after burning the Villages, and laying waste the Country on his March. A Turkish Force lands at Aboukir.—A dreadful Battle fought there, and the Turks are defeated.—The death of Tippoo Saib in India.—Buonaparté conceives the Expedition to Egypt to have failed.

ALL the marches of the French armies were attended with circumstances so nearly alike, that a journal of their whole proceedings is at once tautologous and tedious. To the excursion of Desaix in Upper Egypt, the remark is particularly applicable; and of that, as well as the rest, the general description is, that they captured village after village, and town after town; that they laid the people everywhere under requisitions, and levied their taxes at the point of the bayonet; that, in order to repress the murmurings of the people, it was, occasionally, found necessary to reduce their towns to ashes, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, by way of example! that they were frequently obstructed by armies of Arabs, Mamelukes, and Fillahs; and that they pressed through all their difficulties, by killing here one hundred, there five hundred, and at another place, eight hundred, or a thousand! In this manner, the army of Desaix proceeded from the landing at Alexandria, on the 2d of July, 1798, until the 29th of May, 1799, when he arrived at Cosseir, on the coast of the Red Sea: here the marauding army first saw the limit that

juſtice had prepared for its murderous jaunt. An Engliſh force appeared before the port, and it was evident that more ſerious preparations were now required than had been found ſufficient to ſcatter a few wandering tribes. The Engliſh ſhips had been diſpatched from the Eaſt Indies, and were the ſame that had already appeared off Suez. Deſaix endeavoured to fortify himſelf at Coſſeir, and diſpatched intelligence of his precarious ſituation to Cairo.

Before this news reached the capital Buonaparte had arrived there from Syria, his march had ſpread deſolation on every ſide, and entailed upon him, and his companions, the curſes of every city, town, and habitation, from the ocean to the Deſart. He reached Cairo on the 14th of June, and the Journal of his operations will read beſt in General Berthier's own words: "The inhabitants of the country had been guilty of all ſorts of exceſſes; the general order given to the columns was, to burn the villages as they proceeded, and lay waſte the adjacent country. The cavalry proceeded along the right, parallel with the coaſt; they ſcoured the downs, and *drove in* (that is, they ſtole) all the cattle that had there been collected. The diviſion of General Kleber formed the rear guard, and did not leave Jaffa till the 29th of May. In this order, the army marched as far as Kan-jouneſs; the ſurrounding plains preſented a *continual blaze of fire*; but the recollection of the plunder of the convoys, and the atrocities exerciſed againſt the French, by the inhabitants of theſe countries, abundantly juſtified this terrible retaliation."

After ſuch a recital, it is wonderful how a man

of honour (if Berthier muſt be regarded as ſuch) could find the impudence to declare, in a few ſubſequent lines of his Work, that many of the Egyptians eſteemed the French as brothers, and that the French look upon Cairo as a ſecond country!

The Anglo-Turkiſh forces having ſucceeded ſo well in fruſtrating the views of the General, it was to be expected that they would follow up their ſucceſſes; of this, he ſeems to have been aware; for, immediately on his arrival at Cairo, he made ſuch arrangements as ſhould enable him to protect the ſea coaſt and the Syrian frontier.

The Mamelukes in Upper Egypt had divided their forces; a party had gone to the Oaſis of Sebabiar, with the deſign of joining Ibraham Bey, who had returned to Gaza, while the other, with Murad Bey, had deſcended through the Fayum, to gain the Oaſis of the Lakes of Natron, in order to form a junction with a body of Arabs aſſembled in that quarter. This march of Murad Bey, combined with the movements of the Arabs, indicated a deſign of protecting a deſcent, either at Aboukir or at the Tower of the Arabs. To prevent this junction was a material point with the French, and a great many ſkirmiſhes took place, which generally terminated in the loſs of a few ſoldiers on the part of the French, and a great number of the enemy. The tribes were ſometimes ſcattered, the French were haraſſed, and it was eaſy to ſee that ſuch a conteſt muſt be fatal to an army that had no means of recruiting itſelf.

Buonaparté ſet out from Cairo on the 14th of July, with the cavalry and infantry guides, the grenadiers of the 18th and 32d, the riflemen, and two pieces of

cannon, and advanced towards the pyramids of Gizah, where he ordered General Murat to join him. Arrived at the pyramids, his advanced guard purſued the Arabs that were in the rear of Murad Bey, who, that morning, began to aſcend towards Fayum; a few men were killed in this purſuit, and ſeveral camels taken. General Murat, who had joined the General in Chief, purſued Murad Bey on his route for the ſpace of five leagues. Buonaparté, who had deſigned to halt two or three days at the pyramids of Gizah, received intelligence from Alexandria, that a Turkiſh fleet, of 100 ſail, had anchored off Aboukir, on the 11th of July, and manifeſted hoſtile deſigns on Alexandria. He inſtantly departed for Gizah, where he paſſed the night in making his diſpoſitions; he ordered General Murat to proceed to Rahmanieh with his cavalry, the grenadiers of the 69th, thoſe of the 18th and 32d, the eclaireurs, and a battalion, which was with him, of the 13th. A part of the diviſion of General Laſnes was ordered to croſs the Nile in the night, and to repair to Rahmanieh; as were alſo a part of General Rampon's diviſion. The artillery deſtined for the march was alſo put in motion; and, during the night, all the neceſſary orders and inſtructions were forwarded to the different provinces with the utmoſt haſte.

Buonaparté wrote to General Deſaix, to ſpare him a part of his force, and to let General Friant fall into the route of Murad Bey, and follow him with his flying column wherever he went; to ſupply the fortreſs of Keneh, in Upper Egypt, and that of Coſſeir, upon the Red Sea, amply with ammunition and proviſions; to leave 100 men in each place; to

obſerve Cairo cloſely during the expedition againſt the Turks at Aboukir; and to concert meaſures with General Dugua, commandant at Cairo, for the ſecurity of the French intereſts in that quarter.

General Kleber was directed to advance towards Roſetta; previouſly leaving a ſufficient number of troops for the ſecurity of Damietta, and the province. General Menou, who was gone, with a flying column, to the Lakes of Natron, was ordered to place 200 Greeks, with a piece of cannon, as garriſons in the convents, which it was thought would make excellent places of defence; the general was then to join the force at Rahmanieh with the reſt of his column. Buonaparté left Gizah the 16th of July and arrived on the 19th at Rahmanieh. Generals Laſnes, Robin, and Fugieres, who were employed in the diſtricts of Menouf and Garbieh, in enforcing the payment of the Miri, joined the army there the 20th and 21ſt.

Here Buonaparté received intelligence that the Turkiſh ſhips had landed, near the fort of Aboukir, on the 12th, about 3,000 men, with artillery; and that the garriſon, the commandant of which had been killed, had ſurrendered the ſame day. The French Commander was greatly mortified at this event, as it proved that the ſoldiers did not think the expedition worth the blood that had been ſhed for it, and were unwilling to ſpill their own. At Roſetta, the adjutant-general, Julien, ſecured his proviſions, ammunition, and all the ſick within the caſtle; but he remained in the town with about 200 men, whom he had under his command, and maintained public confidence and tranquillity in the province. General Marmont (who commanded at

Alexandria) dispatched intelligence to the General, that Aboukir had surrendered on capitulation; that the Turks were employed in landing their artillery; that he had destroyed the pontoons which the French had constructed over the strait which joins the lake Madie with the road of Aboukir; that he was informed by his agents, that the enemy designed to besiege Alexandria, and that the Turks were about 15,000 strong.

In consequence of this information, Buonaparté dispatched General Menou to Rosetta with a reinforcement of troops, with orders to observe the motions of the enemy, and to defend the entrance of the Nile. It was expected that the enemy, elated by the capture of Aboukir, would become enterprising, and proceed either against Alexandria or Rosetta; but the General learned, with disappointment, that, on the contrary, they were forming a post, and intrenching themselves in the peninsula of Aboukir; that they were forming magazines in the fort, and organizing the Arabs, and that they waited for the co-operation of Murad Bey, and his Mamelukes, before they advanced. It was obvious that the enemy, in his then situation, would daily increase his strength; it was, therefore, important to take a position whence he might be attacked with equal advantage, whether he proceeded against Rosetta or invested Alexandria; such a position, whence, if the enemy remained at Aboukir, they might be attacked, deprived of their artillery, or bombarded in, and compelled to surrender.

Buonaparté chose a position at the village of Birkit, as one combining those advantages; it is situated

at the point of one of the angles of the Lake Madie, and from which he could march with equal facility to Etko, Rosetta, Aboukir, or Alexandria; from which he might, besides, confine the enemy to the peninsula of Aboukir; render his communication with the interior more difficult, and entirely intercept the expected reinforcements from the Arabs and the Mamelukes. General Murat, with the cavalry, the dromedaries, the grenadiers, and the first battalion of the 69th, left Rahmanieh in the evening of the 20th of July, to proceed to Birkit. This general had orders to open a communication with Alexandria by detachments, to reconnoitre the enemy at Aboukir, and to advance his patroles round Lake Madie, as far as Etko. The army, as well as the head quarters, took its position at Birkit on the 23d, and miners were sent to clear the wells at Beda. In the night one division of it took a position at Kafr-fin and the other at Beda; head quarters were removed to Alexandria; the General in Chief passed the rest of the night in examining the reports of the situation of the enemy at Aboukir; he dispatched three battalions of the garrison of Alexandria, under the command of General Destaing, to reconnoitre the enemy, take a favourable position about midway between Alexandria and Aboukir, and to clear the adjacent wells. Near his intended station Destaing received intelligence that General Kleber was at Fouah, with a part of his division, and following the route of the army, pursuant to his orders.

According to the reports of the agents and reconnoitring parties, Mustapha Pacha, commander of the Turkish army, had landed with about 15,000

men, a large train of artillery, and 100 horſes, and that he was occupied in erecting works and entrenching the greater part of his force. In the afternoon Buonaparté removed from Alexandria, with the head quarters, to a poſition near General Deſtaing's ſtation and the wells between Alexandria and Aboukir. The cavalry, under General Murat, and the diviſions of Generals Laſnes and Rampon, were ordered to follow immediately to the ſame ſtation; they accordingly arrived early on the morning of the 25th, together with a corps of 400 cavalry, from Upper Egypt; at day-break the army began to move; the advanced guard was commanded by General Murat, who had under his orders 400 cavalry, together with General Deſtaing, and three battalions, with two field pieces. The diviſion of General Laſnes formed the right wing and that of General Lannuſe the left; the diviſion of General Kleber, expected to arrive in the courſe of the day, was to form the reſerve. The train of artillery, eſcorted by a ſquadron of horſe, followed the main body of the army. The general of brigade Davouſt, with two ſquadrons of horſe, and 100 dromedaries, was directed to take a poſition between Alexandria and the army, as well to oppoſe the Arabs and Murad Bey, whoſe arrival was hourly expected, as to ſecure the communication with Alexandria. Orders were diſpatched to General Menou, who had advanced to Roſetta, to proceed at day-break and take a poſition at the extremity of the neck of land, at the entrance of Lake Madie, on the ſide of Aboukir, in order to cannonade and keep at a diſtance any veſſels of the enemy that might be on the lake, and attempt to haraſs the army on that ſide.

Muſtapha Pacha had drawn up his firſt line half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir; about 1,000 men occupied an intrenched ſand-hill on his right, cloſe to the ſea, this was ſupported by a village, occupied by 1,200 men, with four pieces of cannon. The left wing, which conſiſted of about 2,000 men, with ſix pieces of cannon, was upon a detached ſand-hill, in front of the firſt line; this poſition, which was ill fortified, was choſen to protect the wells, that are moſt abundant near Aboukir. Some gunboats appeared to be ſtationed with a view to protect the ſpace between this poſition and the ſecond line. The Pacha's ſecond poſition was about 300 toiſes in the rear of the village; his centre in and near the redoubt, which he had taken at the firſt landing; the right of this poſition was behind an intrenchment extended from the redoubt to the ſea, for the ſpace of an 150 toiſes; his left, ſtretching from the redoubt towards the ſhore on the other ſide, occupied ſome low ſand-hills, on the verge of the ſea, where it was covered by the fire both of the redoubt and of the gunboats; in the ſecond poſition were nearly 7,000 men, with 12 pieces of cannon: 150 toiſes to the rear of the redoubt was ſituate the village of Aboukir, and cloſe to it the fort, theſe were occupied by about 1,500 men. Eighty horſemen formed the ſuite of the Pacha, who had the chief command; and the Turkiſh ſquadron was at anchor in the road, at the diſtance of half a league.

After a march of two hours, the advanced guard came within ſight of the enemy, and commenced a diſcharge of muſketry. Buonaparté ordered the columns to halt, and made his diſpoſitions for the attack.

The general of brigade, Deſtaing, with his three battalions, was ordered to carry the height on the right of the enemy, which was occupied by about 1000 men; at the ſame time a picquet of cavalry were ſent to cut off the retreat of this body to the village. The diviſion of General Laſnes was to advance againſt the detached ſand-hill, on the left of the enemy's line, where 2000 men and ſix pieces of cannon were ſtationed: two ſquadrons of horſe were diſpatched to obſerve the motions of this corps, and to endeavour to cut off its retreat. The reſt of the cavalry were to advance againſt the center, and the diviſion of General Lanuſſe was to remain in the ſecond line.

General Deſtaing with the force under his orders, charged the enemy with the bayonet; they abandoned their intrenchments, and retreated towards the village, but the greater part of the fugitives were cut down by the cavalry. The corps againſt which the diviſion of General Laſnes advanced ſeeing that ſtationed on the right give way, and that the cavalry was about to turn its poſition, attempted to retire, after diſcharging a few cannon ſhot; but the two ſquadrons of cavalry and a platoon of guides cut off its retreat, and either killed or precipitated the whole corps into the ſea. General Deſtaing's force then marched againſt the village, which was nearly in front of the center of the Pacha's ſecond line, this poſt he turned while the 32d demi-brigade attacked it in front. The Turks here made a ſpirited reſiſtance; a conſiderable number of men were detached from the left of the ſecond line to the relief of the village; but the reinforcement was charged and routed by the cavalry, who drove the greater part of the fugitives into the ſea. The village was then ſpeedily

carried, and its defenders purſued as far as the redoubt, which was in the center of the ſecond poſition. This poſt was a very ſtrong one, the redoubt was flanked by a work which covered the peninſula on the right as far as the ſea; another work, of ſimilar conſtruction, extended to the left, but to a ſmall diſtance from the redoubt; the reſt of the ſpace was occupied by Muſtapha's troops, who were poſted on the ſand-hills, and among groves of palm trees.

While the troops took breath, Buonaparté ordered ſeveral pieces of artillery to be planted at the village and along the ſhore, and a fire was opened on the enemy's right and on the redoubt; General Deſtaing's battalions, drawn up near the village they had carried, formed the center of the line of attack, and fronted the redoubt; they were ordered to advance. General Fugieres received orders to march along the ſhore, in order to force, by the bayonet, the right wing of the Turks. The 32d, which occupied the left of the village, had orders to hold them in check, and to ſupport the 18th. The cavalry, which was placed on the right of the army, attacked the enemy's left, charging it ſeveral times with great impetuoſity: it cut down, or drove into the ſea, all before it; but they could not penetrate beyond the redoubt without being placed between its fire and that of the gunboats; from this terrible ſituation they were obliged to fall back, while the thinned ranks of the Turks were ſupplied by freſh troops.

The Turks deficient in diſcipline, but not in ardour, ſtood the ſhock of the French artillery with the greateſt courage, but their reſiſtance only ſtimulated the courage of the French cavalry to new attacks; at each charge they rnſhed forward to the very foſſe of

the redoubt; and, though every ſoldier conſidered himſelf as ſent upon the forlorn hope, they all ſeemed actuated by the infernal determination to do as much miſchief as poſſible before they died. The adjutant-general Roze, Beſſiers, chief of brigade of the cavalry guides, and Adjutant de Turq, were at the head of the charges; the chief of brigade, Daviver, was killed. The horſe-artillery, and that of the guides, took a poſition in face of the enemy's muſketry, whence, by a briſk diſcharge of grape ſhot, they powerfully contributed to the ſucceſs of the battle. The adjutant-general, le Turq, judged that a reinforcement of infantry was neceſſary; he repreſented this to Buonaparté, who ſent him with a battalion of the 75th; he rejoined the cavalry, but his horſe being ſoon killed, he put himſelf at the head of the infantry; with this he flew to the center of the left, to join the 18th demi-brigade, which he ſaw advancing to attack the entrenchments of the enemy's right. The 18th continued to advance; the enemy, at the ſame time, made a ſortie from their poſition on the right, and engaged the fronts of the columns, man to man; the Turks endeavoured to wreſt the bayonets from the French; in deſpair they flung their own muſkets behind them, and fought with the ſabre and piſtol. At length the 18th reached the entrenchments, but the fire of the redoubt, which everywhere flanked the trenches, behind which the enemy had again rallied, ſtopped the column. General Fugiers, and the adjutant-general, le Turq, diſplayed prodigies of valour; the former received a wound in the head; he continued, nevetheleſs, to fight; ſoon after a ball carried away his left arm, and he was conſtrained to follow the movements of the 18th, which, in the

greatest order, and maintaining a brisk fire, retreated to the village. The adjutant-general le Turq, having vainly exerted himself to determine the column to throw itself in the enemy's intrenchments, leaped into them himself—but he was cut down by a sabre, and mixed among the dead; the chief of brigade, Morangei, was previously wounded, and 20 of the 18th were killed upon the spot. The Turks, in face of the heavy fire from the village, darted from their intrenchments, in order to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might obtain the silver aigriette, which their government bestows on every soldier who brings the head of an enemy.

The General in Chief had ordered a battalion of the 22d light infantry, and another of the 69th, to advance upon the left of the enemy; General Lasnes, who was at their head, seized the moment in which the Turks had imprudently quitted their intrenchments, to storm the redoubt; he attacked it with the greatest vigor on the left flank and on its gorge; the 22d, the 69th, and a battalion of the 75th, leaped into the ditch, were soon upon the parapet and within the redoubt; at the same time the 18th charged the right of the enemy with the bayonet. General Murat, who then commanded the advanced guard, took advantage of the moment in which General Lasnes stormed the redoubt to order the cavalry to charge, and to break through all the positions of the enemy, to the very ditches of the fort: this order was executed with such vigor and effect, that, at the moment the redoubt was forced, the cavalry were on the spot to cut of the enemy's retreat to the fort. The rout of the Turks was complete, and they beheld death on every side; the infantry charged them with the bayo-

net; the cavalry cut them down with the ſabre. No alternative but the ſea remained; to this ſad reſource they fled, as a laſt refuge. Several thouſands committed themſelves to the waves; ſhowers of muſketry and grape-ſhot followed them;—never did ſo terrible a ſight preſent itſelf: few of them ſurvived! as the ſhips were too far diſtant for the greater part to reach them. Muſtapha Pacha, the commander in chief of the Turkiſh army, and 200 men were made priſoners; about 2000 were killed in the field of battle; all the tents and baggage, and 20 pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the French. The fort of Abonkir did not fire a ſhot; all within were panic ſtruck. A flag of truce was ſent out, by which it appeared that the fort was defended by 1200 men; it was propoſed to them to ſurrender; ſome were inclined to agree, while others refuſed; the day was ſpent in parleying; at length a poſition was taken, and the wounded were removed. Many of the French officers died of their wounds. In the night the Turkiſh ſquadron communicated with the ſhore; the garriſon was re-organiſed and defended the fort; and batteries of cannon and mortars were erected by the French for its reduction.

On the 26th of July the fort was ſummoned to ſurrender. The ſon of the Pacha, his, kiaya, and the officers were willing to capitulate, but the ſoldiers refuſed. On the 27th the bombardment was continued; on the 28th ſeveral batteries were erected on the right and left of the iſthmus, ſome gunboats were ſunk, and a frigate was diſmaſted and forced to put to ſea. The ſame day the beſieged, who began to want proviſions got into ſome houſes of the village which

joined the works; General Lafnes approached to attack them, but was feverely wounded in the leg; General Menou fucceeded him in the command of the fiege. On the 30th General Davouft forced the trenches, and thofe houfes wherein the Turks were lodged, and, after fome flaughter, drove them into the fort.

On the 2d of Auguft General Robin made himfelf mafter of the trenches; batteries were raifed on the counterfcarp, and the mortars played with vigor; the fort was little more than a heap of ftones. The befieged had now no communication with the fquadron, and were in extreme want of provifions, yet they did not capitulate, but threw down their arms, and furrendered at difcretion. The fon of the Pacha, the Kiaya, and the Governor, were made prifoners; thus, a combination of talants and fkill had fubdued the energies of phyfical power. This victory had a direct tendency to eftablifh the French dominion in Egypt, by fhewing the dreadful confequences of oppofing them; but they were rapidly wafting, and, as they had no means of recruiting their ftrength, a victory obtained at the expenfe of a few hundreds of men, was equal to a defeat. The General faw that he was likely to be affailed on every fide, and that he could not ftrengthen one frontier without weakening another; but, from the prifoners captured at Aboukir he learned, with the utmoft chagrin and mortification, that he was entirely fuperfeded in the grand object of his expedition; for the Englifh had penetrated his defign of co-operating with Tippoo, and had overthrown that monarch, and feized all his territories, by which the influence of France, in the Eaft Indies, was perfectly annihilated. Egypt itfelf had now loft

half its value, and the mind of Buonaparté, naturally ſullen, retired within itſelf. He was never cheerful, unleſs to diſguise the ſecret bodings of his ſoul; and he now looked upon none as his friends but thoſe who ſoothed him with copious draughts of flattery. He ſaw but few perſons, and converſed freely with none, Berthier and Menou ſeemed to have moſt of his confidence. He did but little buſineſs, and it was eaſy for any acute obſerver to ſee that he was conſcious of having failed; but, though he regarded the expedition as having miſcarried, he had not courage to believe that any other perſons views correſponded with his own.

CHAPTER XIII.

Buonaparté changes his Name to Bonaparte.—A French Fleet sails from Brest—Great Maritime Preparations of the English—The French Fleet effects a Junction with the Spanish Fleet and returns to Brest, being Forty-seven Sail of the Line, without any Attempt to annoy the English.—Unpopularity of the Directory—Changes in the Directory.—Weakness of the French Army.—The French Retreat from Naples.—Admiral Nelson arrives with an English Fleet.—Treachery and Cruelty of the Neapolitan Court to the Neapolitan Republicans.—Various Operations in Italy.—Florence wrested from the French—Retreat of Macdonald.—Surrender of Mantua to the Allies.

THE hopes of Egypt were now all transported to France, whilst those of France were centered in Egypt; so powerful is the propensity in mankind to rely upon any other exertion than their own. It has already been stated that the communication between France and Egypt was cut off by the English cruisers, and the Allies had, by this means, kept the two countries ignorant of each others situation, an advantage far inferior to that of being themselves acquainted with the real state of the new colony; for it became evident to the British Government, upon the perusal of these dispatches and letters, that Buonaparté could not long maintain himself in the new settlement. Such of the intercepted letters as it was thought fit to print were published by authority of the English Government; and it appeared by these papers, that, from his entering upon the expedition to Egypt, the General had altered the orthography of his name, and decended from Buonaparté into a Bonaparte, all his

public acts being so signed. To the French Government it appeared highly important that a maritime force should be collected to enable the Republic to recover the command in the Mediteranean. Early in the spring the British had not more than 15 sail in that sea, the rest of the navy being employed in watching the different coasts of the ocean, and every harbour being carefully blockaded. The fleet in Brest harbour seemed so entirely unprovided with almost every necessary that no apprehensions were entertained of its daring to put to sea in haste. The news, however, of its being actually at sea, arrived at Plymouth on the 30th of April, when 14 sail of the line immediately set sail from Spithead, the greater part of which were appointed to reinforce the fleet under Lord Bridport, who had at sea 24 sail of the line and six frigates by the 10th of May, and in a few days after was joined by Admiral Collingwood. A squadron of five sail of the line and three frigates, was sent, under Vice-admiral Whitshed, to reinforce that of Lord St. Vincent, then before Cadiz; and Vice-admiral Dixon sailed from Yarmouth with five sail of the line to reinforce that before the Texel, and of which Lord Duncan took upon him the command, having received an additional force of five Russian vessels, under Admiral Tate.

The Russian admiral, Mackarof, had arrived at Sheerness with four ships of the line, and he set sail for the Mediterranean, so that, in the space of 14 days, Lord Bridport could muster, at Cape Clear, 30 sail of the line; while Lord Duncan blocked up the Dutch fleet in the Texel with 22 sail of the line, and Lord St. Vincent's fleet, including the reinforcements from

Whitſhed and Mackarof, amounted to about 30 ſail of the line. The route and peculiar deſtination of the French fleet were a ſecret in Great Britain; but, ſo formidable were the Engliſh preparations, that it could ſail to no place without meeting with ſuperior forces, and on the Iriſh coaſt with a force much more than equal. The Republican Admiral appeared conſcious of the vaſt and formidable enemy he had to meet, and he endeavoured to augment his fleet by the addition of ſix Spaniſh ſail of the line, from Ferrol; but this junction could not be effected, as the Spaniards would not venture to croſs the Bay of Biſcay, the ſquadron having on board 3000 troops; it therefore anchored at the Iſle of Aix on the 7th of May.

Another diviſion of the Spaniſh fleet, in Carthagena, was joined by the French, in ſpite of the combined vigilance of the Britiſh admirals; from this port they ſailed through the Straits of Gibralter, and anchored in the road of Cadiz, before the Britiſh admiral had received information reſpecting their movements, or the junction they had effected. They made a grand total of 47 ſail of the line, and, about the 21ſt of July, actually anchored in Breſt water. This naval expedition had ſomething in it extremely daring, and ſeemed to portend a deſperate ſtroke againſt Britain, though in fact it all terminated in nothing but parade. It was expected by the people of France that ſuch a prodigious fleet would either convey ſufficient reinforcement to the armies, capture the fleet of Lord St. Vincent before Cadiz, or deſtroy the Britiſh and Ruſſian ſhips before Palermo, in the Iſland of Sicily; but the Directory did not think it prudent to make the attempt.

The conduct of the Directory had produced ſuch general diſſatisfaction that its deſtruction had been long premeditated, and the ſeaſon for accompliſhing it at laſt arrived.

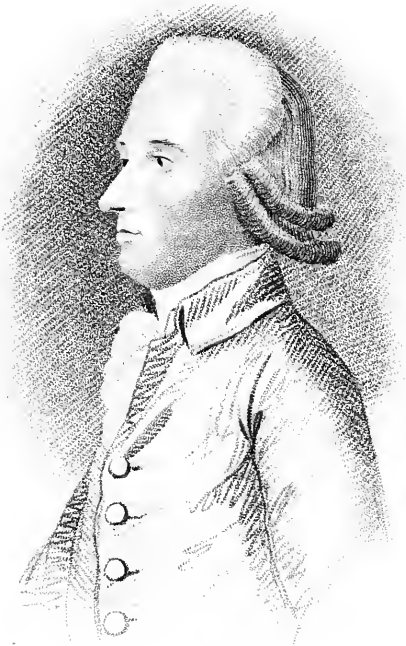
The moſt active leaders of the conſpiracy againſt the Executive Power, were nine members of the councils, Lucien Buonaparté, Francois de Nantes, and Boulay de la Meurthe, whoſe object was to throw out three of the members, as unqualified for their rank; theſe oppoſitioniſts were marked out by the Directory as objects of vengeance; this did not eſcape their obſervation, ſo that they did not deem their own houſes an aſylum, and viewed their lives in continual danger, except when ſeated in the councils as repreſentatives of the people, completely ſheltered by their conſtitutional inviolability.

So determined was the oppoſition of the Councils that their intereſt was daily obtaining converts, and the contending parties ſecured ſuch means of defence as might render them victorious, ſhould the difference require to be ſettled by force of arms. The Directory had a guard of their own, *ex officio*, and the troops in the environs of Paris were likewiſe ſubject to their authority; but the latter were gained over by the oppoſition party. The officers were peculiarly attached to the enemies of the Directory, and gained poſſeſſion of the military ſchool without much oppoſition, and made themſelves maſters of all the engines of deſtruction, which the Directory might have turned againſt them without ſuch preparations. It was demanded, that three of the Directors, Merlin, Treilhard, and Lepeaux, ſhould reſign; three days were required by the Directory for the purpoſe of returning their definitive anſwer. The Councils had already two of

the members (Barras and Sieyes) on their ſide, and therefore laboured to procure the majority, as the eaſieſt and leaſt offenſive mode of ſecuring the object they had in view. But the three members of the Directory remained inflexible, conſidering that Conſtitution as their principal ſafeguard, which, in a thouſand inſtances, they had made no ſcruple to violate.

By the 13th article of the Conſtitution it was enacted, "That no member of the Legiſlative Body can be elected a member of the Directory, either during the time of his legiſlative functions or during the year which follows the expiration of his functions." Upon inquiry it was found, that Treilhard had ceaſed to be a legiſlator on the 30th Floreal, and had been elected a director on the 26th of the ſame month next year, which made his directorſhip unconſtitutional; which violation he frankly acknowledged, and, without any ſtruggle whatever for the retaining of his authority, he voluntarily reſigned his ſeat. On his reſignation his place was filled by one Gohier, miniſter of juſtice. Merlin and Lepaux quitted the Luxembourg loaded with curſes and execrations. Roger Ducos and Moulins were nominated their ſucceſſors; the former being a legiſlator with whom the people in general were little acquainted, and the latter promoted to the rank of a ſtaff officer during the reign of terror.

The Directory felt the neceſſity of arouſing all the energies of France to meet the new attacks that the Allies were preparing. The Archduke had almoſt 90,000 men under his command, exclusive of the army of obſervation, under General Suwarrow, between the Danube and the frontiers of the Ty-



Abbé Sieyes.

rol, which was 20,000 ſtrong; the Ruſſians amounted to about 45,000, which, with the forces under Haddick, Bellegarde, Kaim, &c. amounted to the mighty total of 300,000 men, deſtined againſt the frontiers of France! The new Directory uſed no efforts to conceal the danger of the ſtate; the Republic, at the higheſt calculation, had no more than 195,000 men to bring into the field, excluſive of the troops of the Batavian Republic, which amounted to about 20,000. In this ſituation, it was reſolved to raiſe the army to 500,000 men, from every claſs of the conſcription.

Battalions were formed in the different departments, and, by official calculations, it was ſtated, that no fewer than 550,000 men would be in the pay of government, and ready for action, in three months. To render theſe forces effectual without, it was propoſed to form anew the national guard, of which the moveable columns were to be employed in the ſervice of the interior, and for reinforcing the different towns and forts upon the frontiers; and a ſmall part of thoſe forces ſoon reached the armies of Moreau and Maſſena.

We formerly left General Macdonald continuing his retreat into Tuſcany, after he had fought the bloody battle near Placentia. It would have been impoſſible for him to have finiſhed this arduous retreat had General Suwarrow continued to preſs upon his rear-guard, for Klenau and Hohenzollern attacked him in flank, and thereby impeded his march very conſiderably; but the grand manœuvres performed in his favour by General Moreau turned Suwarrow's attention towards Alexandria. The diviſion under General Victor occupied the paſſes of the Appe-

nines, in conjunction with that of Lapoype, after marching along the valley of the Tanaro, when the communication by La Corniche was completely covered, and nothing left to Macdonald to apprehend respecting the last outlet.

The retreat of the army from Naples was followed by scenes the most shocking to humanity; the majority were averse to Republicanism, and Cardinal Ruffo having assumed the command, was at the gates of the city with a considerable force, which he had collected in Calabria, and was joined by 2,000 British and 500 Russian troops. Upon this the Republicans took refuge in the forts, that they might have the opportunity of obtaining an honourable capitulation; they were attacked at different times, but repulsed the Royalists with the most determined bravery and resolution. Ten days afterward the Cardinal sent a flag of truce to such of them as were in the Castello Novo, and to those also who had made an asylum of Fort St. Elmo. This last place entered into a capitulation with Cardinal Ruffo, who assumed the designation of *Vicar of the King of Naples.* By one article it was agreed on, "That the members of the government, and the patriots in the fortresses, as well as the French garrison, and the national troops, should march out with the honours of war, with arms and baggage, and should be conducted to Toulon." But, as there was no dependence to be placed on the treaty of a Catholic, the besieged were not to evacuate St. Elmo till every article of the capitulation was faithfully performed by the conquerors.—The Republicans were detained in the roads for 17 days, owing to contrary winds, during which period they did not

experience any moleſtation; but the Britiſh fleet, under Lord Nelſon, appeared before Naples, and blocked up all the ſhips which were appointed to carry the Republicans to Toulon, and the King ſoon after arrived, attended by two Britiſh ſhips of the line. He treacherouſly publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring, that a negotiation with rebels was contrary to his wiſh, and done without his authority. He accordingly reverſed all that had been done by Cardinal Ruffo, and ſeveral of the Republican party were hanged upon the ſpot, and their houſes given up to robbery and plunder.

It has been ſaid that the cruelties commanded by the King upon this occaſion exceeded thoſe which were the diſgrace of France during the tyrannical uſurpation of Robeſpierre! and it has left an indelible ſtain upon the character of Nelſon, that this act of perfidy was ſanctioned by his authority. The prince of Stigliano and the Duke of Carracciolo were beheaded, and 19 ladies of diſtinction, with a number of officers and eccleſiaſtics were hanged. The court was ſo aſhamed at the reports ſo extenſively circulated, that a refutation of them was publiſhed, but the bloody deeds cannot be denied. The Cardinal in vain proteſted againſt violating the articles of capitulation, notwithſtanding he produced a letter from the prime miniſter, by which he received authority to grant the conditions upon which their ſurrender was obtained. Thouſands were continually thrown into priſon, and the tribunal executed the royal mandate with bloody punctuality. The Cardinal did not conceal his reſentment and indignation, on which account he was deprived of his office as Viceroy, by thoſe who conſidered it as im-

proper to keep faith with heretics, and imagined that the nod of a ſovereign was ſufficient to ſcreen the worſt of crimes.

As the rear-guards, which General Macdonald left behind him, were extremely weak, Klenau and Hohenzollern obliged them to evacuate Modena and Bologna. General Ott forced the garriſon of Urbino to ſurrender, after a ſiege of a few days. Macdonald, therefore, determined to evacuate Tuſcany, and again endeavour to retreat into the territory of Genoa. The right wing of his army was conſiderably weakened by the deſertion of the Ciſalpine General, Lahotze; and he ſuffered much in Florence by the inſurgents of Arezzo. The Combined Powers, immediately after his departure, reinforced Tuſcany, forming a junction with the Inſurgents of Arezzo, ſo ſtrongly reinforced as to form a body of 30,000 men, under General Ingheranni. On the 8th of July Klenau made his entrance into Florence; at the time the people roſe up in arms, and, having effaced every mark of the Republican conſtitution, they re-eſtabliſhed their ancient government, a tolerable good proof that the ſway of the French power was not quite ſo mild as it was repreſented by themſelves. The laſt rear-guard was compoſed of the troops in Leghorn and Porto Ferrajo, who finiſhed their retreat by the way of Sarzana. General D'Argubet prepared to make a vigorous reſiſtance, and ſtrongly reinforced the garriſons of Fort d'Antigano, which the Inſurgents menaced, when he received orders to evacuate Leghorn. He capitulated with the Tuſcan General, Lavillette, which embraced the ſafe retreat of the garriſon of Porto Ferrajo, and the return of the ſick. The Grand

Duke was re-eſtabliſhed and General Macdonald finiſhed his retreat, having been obliged to leave behind him or deſtroy his heavy artillery, camp-equipage, and the remains of the rich ſpoils of Italy, the army being now reduced to 14,000 men. After Suwarrow had formed a junction with General Bellegarde between Tortona and Alexandria, on the 26th of June, he called in the troops of Kaim and Vukaſſovich, in order to direct his route againſt General Moreau, who retreated from Novi farther into the Ligurian Republic, by the way of the Bochetta.

The main body of the Combined Army encamped on the river Orba, at the entrance of the valley of that name; a ſituation that ſerved to protect Alexandria and Tortona. General Bellegarde was appointed to beſiege the former of theſe two places, as Suwarrow conſidered the reduction of it neceſſary to his ſubſequent operations. The firſt parallel was completed on the 14th of July, and 21 batteries were ready to open upon it, when Gardanne, the Republican commander, received a ſummons, but refuſed to ſurrender; two hundred and ten pieces of cannon played inceſſantly againſt it; and General Gardanne, finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the dreadful force brought againſt him, offered to capitulate, which the enemy accepted on the 22d, and the garriſon continued priſoners of war, to the amount of 2,600 men. General Suwarrow fixed his head quarters at Alexandria, having to lament the loſs of General de Chaſteler, whoſe military talents had been highly beneficial to him. Moreau who had been unable to retire to Alexandria, extended his line

Weſtwards to the frontiers of France, without leaving either Genoa or the Bochetta expoſed, and he preſerved the other paſſes of the Appenines: his head quarters were at Culiano; and, having taken ſuch ſteps as could alone ſecure the poſſeſſion of the Ligurian republic, and the arrival of reinforcements, he reſigned the command of the army to General Joubert. After Suwarrow got poſſeſſion of Alexandria he again marched a part of his army into Piedmont, inveſted Coni, made an attack upon Feneſtrelles, and diſpatched General Haddick, with 12,000 men, to the Valley of Aoſt, in order to reach the Vallais. The Prince of Rohan, having received reinforcements, made an attack on Little St. Bernard, which occaſioned a conſiderable degree of alarm, and rendered it neceſſary for the Republicans to retain a conſiderable force in that quarter.

The importance of the battle near Placentia (formerly mentioned,) gained by the Combined Powers, conſiſted in the unmoleſted manner in which General Kray was permitted to continue the ſiege of Mantua. The capture of that place was of the laſt importance, in the eſtimation of Suwarrow, as it would form a juſtification of his projects, rectify his plan of operations, and put it in his power to ſend reinforcements to the Archduke, in return for thoſe which he had formerly received from his Royal Highneſs. Nothing was left unattempted to accompliſh the ſpeedy reduction of Mantua, and 600 pieces of cannon and mortars were deſtined to pour their thunders againſt it. The army of the beſiegers was reinforced by two regiments from Auſtria, and a corps of Ruſſian artillery; while the people, for 40 miles round, were compelled to aſſiſt in conſtructing the works.

In the garrison of this city there were 10,000 men, commanded by Latour Foissac, who had been an engineer under the monarchial government. The attack was made by General Kray on the South side, who at first carried the outposts, the Cerese, the head of the bridge covering the sluice, and the communications with the works of the Suburb du Thé, which was divided from the main land by an arm of the Mincio. Opposite to this suburb the trenches were opened during the night between the 13th and 14th of July; as soon as it was perceived that the trenches were opened, the fire from the city became extremely brisk, which, however, did not prevent the finishing of the first and second parallels; and the batteries were mounted in less than a week.

The main attack was seconded by others against the horn-work of the gate Pradella, and Fort St. George, on the opposite side of the lake, against which approaches were made at the same time. On breaking the chief sluice, and draining the water, to render easy the establishing of new batteries for protecting the passage of Bajuola, General Kray attacked the entrenchments between Cerese and the Suburb du Thé, which he carried, sword in hand. The French abandoned fort St. George on the 26th of July, and the horn-work, commanding the entrance across to the Pradella was likewise evacuated, which the enemy believed might be carried by assault, after opening the third parallel at the foot of the glacis. In this situation the commander accepted of the capitulation which Kray offered him on the 28th, and delivered to him the keys of Mantua, of which the Austrians had retained the possession since the

month of February 1797. In two days after, the garrifon marched out with the honours of war, and laid down their arms upon the glacis. Agreeably to the articles of capitulation, the garrifon was to be efcorted to the frontiers of France, under the positive provifo not to take up arms againft the Republic till regularly exchanged.

It is no difficult matter to form a judgment of the importance of this furrender to the Combined Powers; as, while Mantua was in poffeffion of the Republicans, it was impoffible for General Suwarrow to carry on any decifive operations againft Switzerland or Nice. In this fituation of affairs, a new plan was adopted for defending the frontiers of France, advantageous to that country, and continually rendered more fo by every moment's delay. Suwarrow's army, and that of the Archduke were mutually enabled to affift each other; and the furrender of Mantua, at fuch a critical period, was the fevereft lofs which the Republic could have experienced. Nothing of any confequence took place in Switzerland; the hoftile armies being fo nearly on a par that it was thought nothing decifive could be attempted by either, without deftroying the equilibrium.

CHAPTER XIV.

Various Engagements between Maſſena and the Archduke—Lecourbe gains Poſſeſſion of St. Gothard—Bloody Engagements between the French and the Allies—Joubert killed.—Dreadful Battle of Novi. Retreat of the French.—The Allies take Tortona.—Suzzarrow proceeds to Switzerland.

MASSENA and the Archduke were equally ignorant of the ſtrength of their reſpective poſitions after the ſanguinary conflicts before Zurich, till they attempted to diſlodge the advanced guards of each other. The Archduke attacked Mount Albis on the 8th of July, and Maſſena gave battle, on the 15th, to that diviſion of the Auſtrian army which was before Zurich, neither of which was productive of any material advantage. The left wing of the Archduke's army was entruſted to General Hotze, who made Klotten his head-quarters, and Maſſena ſtationed himſelf at Lenzburg, completed his lines, called in his left wing under General Lecourbe, whoſe rear-guard had been in continual action with ſuch of the Auſtrian troops as were commanded by Bellegarde and Haddick among the vallies in the vicinity of St. Gothard. As the Archduke perceived, about the end of June, that ſtrong reinforcements were ſent to Maſſena, he gave it in charge to General Stzarry, who commanded on the right ſide of the Rhine, to annoy the Republican poſts, and draw off their attention in the moſt ſerious manner towards the ſtations on and near the Rhine.

The divifions of the French army ftationed at Offenburg, under General Grand, were obliged to retreat towards Kehl, while other troops in the fame quarter were forced to take refuge under old Brifach. Maffena, in the mean time, ftrongly reinforced his left wing beyond the Rhine, finifhed his preparations for the defence of Bafil, and enabled General Grand to adopt offenfive meafures. The Auftrians, who had ftationed themfelves at Refchen, were attacked by the enemy on the 14th of July, and compelled to retreat beyond Oberkirch; and, at the fame time, a bloody action took place between the huffars of Blankftein and different companies of Republican grenadiers. General Grand, two days after, made an attack upon General Meersfeldt, obliging him to abandon Offenburg, and fall back beyond Ortemburg. On the 9th of July, Meersfeldt engaged the French, in his turn, after receiving reinforcements, and forced them to relinquifh every advantage thay had previoufly obtained.

Maffena made feveral attempts againft the left wing of the Archduke's army in the fmall cantons, as he was affured that it had been confiderably weakened by reinforcing Haddick and Bellegarde, when a number of actions took place, during which different pofts were captured and re-captured, and no advantage gained by either party. On the 14th of July a fimilar attempt was made by General Hotze with the Archduke's left wing, on the right of the French army. Little more was accomplifhed by thefe attacks than had formerly been achieved by the French, only the latter were able to reckon among the prifoners they made, the Imperial general, Count de Bey. This was the firft operation of the Archduke's left, which could be donominated offenfive, and had an intimate

connexion with others, preparing in the Upper Vallais, at the fource of the Rhone, where the inhabitants appeared in arms to efpoufe the caufe of the Combined Powers, and moleft the pofts of General Turreau.

The French Commander now found it neceffary to reft and recruit his army, that it might be prepared to meet a frefh body of Ruffians who were advancing towards Swabia, under the command of General Rimfi Korfakow; Maffena ftrongly fortified his right wing, under General Lecourbe, taking care not to weaken his center, ftationed before Zurich, nor his left which was flanked by the Rhine. On the 12th of Auguft, Maffena began his attack on the Archduke's pofition, with the left wing of his army, in the vicinity of Baden; next day he took advantage of a thick fog to fend a column acrofs the Limmat, which fucceeded in carrying one of the main guards and entering the camp of the cavalry, the Republicans pufhed forward within a fhort diftance of the city of Zurich, and penetrated as far as the rear of the Archduke's line.

The French were afterwards attacked by forces greatly fuperior, and taken in flank by two batteries, when they found it neceffary to act on the defenfive. The carnage was dreadful, as the Swifs of both parties were engaged, and attacked each other with the moft determined fury and revenge. Maffena withdrew his forces to the left fide of the Limmat, and on the 15th the centres of the contending armies refumed their former pofitions. The whole columns of the French right, comprehending the divifion of General Turreau, in the Upper Vallais, amounting to about 30,000 men, directed their march againft the chief pofts of the Auftrians. General Chabran, with his

direction, passed the Sihl, repulsed the enemy on the West side of the Lake of Zurich, ascended the Heights of Etzel and Schindelezzi, and engaged a corps of Austrians between Lachen and Einsidlen. By forcing General Jellachich to abandon his position on the lake and to retreat to Zurich, the French destroyed the communication between the centre and left wing of the Archduke's army, at the same time assisting the movements and attacks of General Lecourbe upon Schwitz and the whole course of the Schotten, from Altorf to the top of St. Gothard. Lecourbe had it in charge to repulse the troops under Simpschen and Jellachich, and he vigorously attacked the Austrian posts before Schwitz, on the 15th of August, at the dawn of day, when they were obliged to retreat upon Glaris, by the way of the Bragel Mountain; Lecourbe, in person, led on the attack against the post of Brunnen. A desperate action took place at the bridge of Mulhen, which the aid-de-camp, Montfort, carried, in spite of a tremendous fire of artillery.

Lecourbe, with a fleet of boats, proceeded up the Lake of Lucerne, in order to contribute his aid to the difficult attack upon Altorf, which he had committed to the chief officer of his staff, General Person. Some of the troops intended for this expedition took the route to Seedorf, and the remainder to Attinghausen, at which villages some bloody engagements were fought, as well as at Fluelen, near the Chapel of William Tell. General Simpschen was obliged to evacuate Altorf in the evening, who retreated by Schindellezzi, after he had destroyed the bridges on the Reuss. The same day General Loison reached Wasen, after a difficult march, by the way of Mount Wepcha, across prodigious quantites of ice and snow.

He reached the ſmall fort of the Meyne, ſituated between the precipices of the torrent of the ſame name, and perpendicular rocks, through a narrow path, defended by muſketry and artillery. The fort was defended by 300 men, which the Republican grenadiers carried by aſſault.

After General Lecourbe had ſcattered and purſued a few Auſtrian poſts in the Valley of Maderan, he determined to aſcend the Reuſs, and got before General Loiſon. As he proceeded on his march he met with a battalion which Loiſon had ſent to keep up a communication with him. At this moment Lecourbe united his forces, with a view to make an attack on the ſtation of St. Gothard, and come up with the right wing of his army under General Gaudin, who had received orders to come by the Heights of the Grimſel and the Furca. General Leconrbe having as yet received no intelligence from Loiſon relative to his attack on the ſtation at St. Gothard, continued his route; and, as he deemed it impracticable to turn the paſſage of the Pierced Rock, he reſolved to attack in front, and force the paſſage of the Devil's Bridge, acroſs the Reuſs, 20 miles South of Altorf. Having formed a junction with General Loiſon, he attacked the Auſtrians by four in the afternoon, when they fell back to their entrenchments at the Devil's Bridge, flanked by the torrents of the Reuſs and inacceſſible mountains. The French ſhewed themſelves at the head of the bridge, and purſued the Auſtrians, expecting to paſs it along with them; but, in the very heat of the battle the bridge gave way, and a hideous chaſm of fifty feet obliged them to return, where they were expoſed to a tremendous fire from the oppoſite ſide. The bridge underwent a thorough repair during the night, and,

on the enſuing morning, General Gaudin appeared on the right ſide of it, having deſcended the mountain of St. Gothard, by the Valley of Urſeren. The Auſtrians, in the defiles of Mount Grimſel, reſiſted the attacks of the Republicans with the moſt determined bravery. The camp between Oberwald and Gueſchen was attacked and carried by the French; and after Gaudin had reſted a night on theſe icy ſummits, he proſecuted his march, by Mount Fucra, upon St. Gothard.

Thus was Lecourbe maſter of St. Gothard, and the whole courſe of Reuſs, in the ſpace of forty-eight hours, and re-eſtabliſhed a communication with the Upper Vallais, when General Turreau's diviſion formed a junction with the right, and drove the Auſtrians beyond the Sempelen with great loſs. In the mean time the Auſtrian army having retreated from Urſeren toward Diſentis, on the Rhine, began to rally on the mountains of Criſpalt, from which they could accompliſh, with eaſe, a deſcent into the Valley of the Rhine; and they ſucceeded in blocking up the entrance into the Griſons by the ſources of that river, by the way of Mounts Adel and Splugen. As General Lecourbe was apprehenſive that the Auſtrians would ſtrengthen themſelves in this poſition, he turned St. Gothard by Airold, and marched, with the principal part of his forces, after their junction, towards the Lake of Ober Alp, and carried, by force, the difficult defile on the way to Diſentis, which was defended by three battalions of Kerpen, commanding the heights, and covering the outlets of Cimut, and St. Giacomo, into the vallies of the Rhine. This engagement was uncommonly ſanguinary, and the hoſtile generals charged at the head of their

respective columns; the regiment of Kerpen sustained many dreadful assaults, but, was at last, compelled to yield to the Republicans, and only a small part of it made good its retreat to Disentis.

The Archduke made every preparation to strengthen his left wing, after its signal defeat, and brought up the first Russian columns which reached Schaffhausen, to be engaged in battle without any time being permitted them to rest. In order to draw the attention of Massena on the left, and induce him to stop the movements of Lecourbe, he dissembled his forcing the passage of the Aar, below Baden, and on the 17th of August began to construct two bridges. The work was carried on under the protection of the Republican fire on the left side; but the want of proper anchorage, from the rocky bottom of the Aar, rendered this measure impracticable. The first division of the Russians, under General Hotze, marched upon Regespurg on the 19th, with a view to put a period to the progress of the French.

Both sides seemed now preparing to act with greater activity than ever. It was the resolution of Suwarrow, in Italy, to leave no place behind him unoccupied, and to gain possession of the flat country. Prior to his attempt on the Ligurian Republic, he pressed the siege of Tortona, blockaded Coni with redoubled caution, and kept a watchful eye on the Republican posts at the entrance of the defiles, and little vallies of the Appenines. General Klenau, who had followed the rear-guard of Macdonald to the entrance of the river of the East, made himself master of Sarzana, Fort Lerici, and all the positions on the Gulph of Spezzia, where the Republicans were already masters of Fort St. Maria. Every part of the Allied

army began to concentrate, and met in the plain between the river Orba and Scrivia, when the arrival was expected of the army which had besieged Mantua, under General Kray; and the capture of the citadel of Tortona was to be the signal for future operations.

Joubert having received the chief command of the army of Italy, in place of Moreau, as already mentioned, was ordered to descend the Appenines, to bring Suwarrow to engage him, which movement was to be favoured by some corps belonging to the army of the Alps, now commanded by Championnet, who had baffled all the calumnies of the old Directory. Massena, in Switzerland, was to come to a general engagement with the left wing of the Austrian army, to force it to abandon the small cantons, and St. Gothard, which was considerably weakened by being extended; he was also directed to act on the right side of the lower Rhine, to force the Archduke either to come to the aid of General Stzarray, or prevent him from receiving reinforcements by the way of Swabia. This constituted the plan of attack from Schaffhausen to the Mediterranean.

It was on the frontier of Switzerland that the French Republic had most to apprehend, which induced the Government to send powerful reinforcements to the army in that quarter, which arrived in constant succession, by different routes, to unite with the centre and wings of Massena's army, while his antagonist, the Archduke, could not receive divisions of Russian troops by any other way than that of Schaffhausen, and whose periods of arrival could be calculated with precision. The reinforcements of

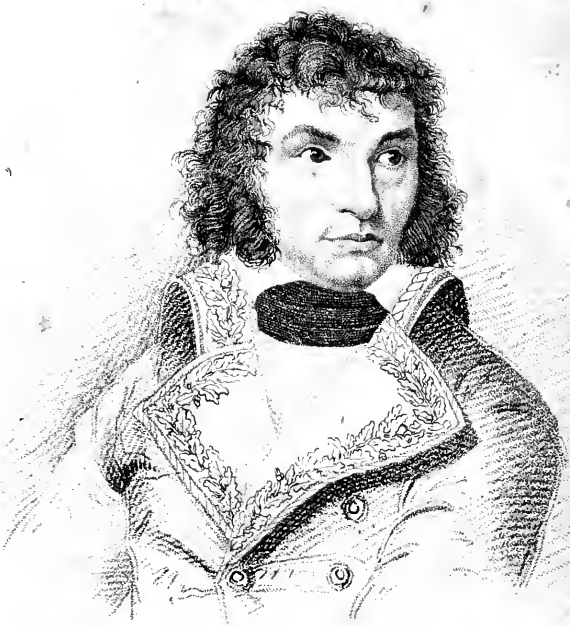
Maſſena were excellent troops, chiefly conſiſting of infantry; but, as they were unacquainted with fighting among mountains, the Auſtrians had greatly the advantage of them, united with mountaineers, Swiſs, and Tyroleans, who had re-captured St. Gothard, and the Griſons, and the greater part of the ſmall cantons.

In the meantime, General Joubert made judicious arrangements of the reinforcements which he received from the Republican government. The mutilated army of Macdonald, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Allies, ſucceeded in reaching Genoa, but the long attempted junction was ſtill prevented; the General repaired to France to enjoy a ſhort ſeaſon of repoſe, at a diſtance from the exceſſive fatigues and horrors of war—a tranquillity to which he was entitled from his having accompliſhed one of the moſt laborious and honourable retreats recorded in hiſtory. Joubert's right wing was commanded by St. Cyr, and the left by Perignon, which latter took the ſtrong poſition of Milleſimo, and, likewiſe, Murialto and Callizano in the vicinity of Ceva.

The centre and right wing of the French army were covered by the Bochetta, as they marched from Montenotte to Campofreddo, and puſhed their advanced poſts into the valley of Erro, and of the Orba. An advanced guard under General Dombrouſky, took poſſeſſion of the poſts of Gavi, while that of Serravalla was forced to capitulate. General Joubert fixed his head quarters at Campo Marino, and reconnoitred his poſitions, in company with Moreau, being reſolved to raiſe the blockade of Tortona,

and to force his way into the plains of Liguria. He defired General Morean to affift him with his advices and inftructions before his departure, with which that extraordinary officer generoufly complied, and accepted of a command under the orders of Joubert. Having taken ftrong advanced guards from the centre and right wing of his army on the 13th of Auguft, and pofted himfelf in the vallies of the Orba and the Bormida, Joubert formed three columns of attack; the firft took the route of the Bormida, marching upon Acqui by the way of Dego; the fecond defcended the valley of Erro, through which the river of that name flows, and marched towards Caftelferro, while the third marched from Campofreddo, and was to make its entrance into the plain Givi.

A fourth column, fuperior to the reft in ftrength, marched by the defiles of the Bochetta, under General St. Cyr, to whom Moreau had united himfelf as a guide, although the real object of its deftination was to raife the fiege of Tortona. The Republicans, on the fame day, made a vigorous attack on the troops under General Bellegarde, who were in poffeffion of Trezzo and Beftanga before Acqui. General Joubert, who pufhed the left wing at Bafaluzzo, where he could cover the movements of a body of troops in the neighbourhood of the Scrivia, was determined to follow the courfe of the mountains on the right fide of this river, and march directly againft Tortona. This was a manœuvre which Suwarrow had it not in his power to prevent, unlefs he could drive the Republican army from their pofition, which he determined to attempt without lofs of time, and accordingly commenced his attack



General Joubert.

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on the 16th of Auguſt. The right wing of the Combined Army, under General Kray, began the bloody action, who directed his whole force againſt the left wing of the French, where General Joubert had aſſumed the perſonal command.

Scarcely had the battle commenced, when this gallant officer was mortally wounded by a ball, which pierced him to the heart, while heading and animating the infantry by his perſonal preſence, who were enthuſiaſtically exclaiming, "Forward! forward!" and General Joubert, to whoſe military talents and character every political party in France did equal juſtice, exclaimed with his expiring breath, "Forward! forward!" Novi, ſituated nine miles South-ſouth-weſt of Tortona, was attempted to be turned by General Kray, and at the ſame time attacked in front by the Ruſſian commander, Bagration; but their united aſſaults were ineffectual, when Derfelden and Melas, with the centre and left wing, were commanded to attack, the one by the road of Novi, and the other by the left or Weſt ſide of the Scrivia; an attempt which proved equally as abortive as the one already mentioned, ſince the Ruſſian commander, Derfelden, found it impracticable to gain the heights to the left of Novi.

All the hoſtile lines were now cloſely engaged; and, as was to be expected, the ſlaughter was prodigious. The troops under General Kray were driven back about three in the afternoon, with great loſs; a circumſtance which determined Suwarrow to make another attack upon the heights of Novi with the joint forces under Defelden, Bagration, and Millora lowitch; but ſo determined was the oppoſition

of the Republicans, that they could not be compelled to abandon their position. During this contest the centre of the Combined Army was nearly annihilated by the charges of the French, which were sustained by Suwarrow with that ferocious kind of courage for which he was remarkable through life. As he could not force the centre of the enemy, he did every thing in his power to prevent its progress. Moreau assumed the chief command after the death of Joubert, and distinguished himself by his personal bravery.

General Melas, with the left wing, composed of 18 battalions of grenadiers, and six of Austrian infantry, reached the first heights of Novi, on the side of Bettola, sending the corps of Nobili along the left bank of the Scrivia, to turn the right wing of the Republican army. With the division of Frolich he engaged the right flank of the French, when General Lusignan received some desperate wounds, and was made prisoner. The Prince of Lichtenstein was ordered to pass the line of the French army to the rear of their right wing, and take possession at the same time of whatever intermediate points he might deem of advantage. Melas fortified this movement by strong batteries in the direction of the troops, which turned the tide of victory in favour of the Allies. Melas made an attack upon the post of Novi at five in the evening—a post which had already caused the effusion of so much blood, and which Moreau had strongly reinforced, to cover his retreat, which he now perceived was become inevitable; but which he did not accomplish till he was nearly surrounded. The communication with Gavi

was entirely cut off by the Prince of Lichtenſtein, on which account the French army could only retreat by Ovada, 20 miles South-eaſt of Novi.

At its commencement, the retreat was conducted with conſiderable order; but the road being blocked up by the artillery in paſſing through Paſturano, the rear-guard was obliged to halt, was thrown into confuſion, and cloſely purſued by General Karackzy. Violent efforts were made by Grouchy, Perignon, and Parthenau, to rally the rear-guard, but without effect, when all theſe generals were wounded and made priſoners, and night alone terminated the conflict. The French had numbers to contend with vaſtly ſuperior to their own, as well as equally courageous; but they fought with that fury which is the offspring of deſpondency.

The bloody battle of Novi left 25,000 men dead upon the field, including both ſides, and the victory was not determined till Melas had ſucceeded in turning the right wing of the French army. It is probable that Joubert might have been yet alive had he waited with patience to aſcertain the plan of Suwarrow from his firſt movements, and reſolved to ſtrike deciſive blows only when exiſting circumſtances evinced their neceſſity; but an inſatiable thirſt for military fame conducted him to his ruin. It will not be diſputed that his place was moſt ably ſupplied by General Moreau; but it is admitted on all hands, that the loſs of a commander in the heat of an action is never ſufficiently ſupplied, although his ſucceſſor ſhould poſſeſs ſuperior abilities.

The French army retreating towards the Appenines during the night, was purſued by General

Karackzy, who had made himſelf maſter of a part of the field artillery left at Paſturano. Moreau took poſſeſſion of the Red Mountain, in order to favour his retreat, where St. Cyr was poſted to defend the approaches to the Bochetta; and the Republican army rallied by degrees and reſumed its former poſitions. Moreau repaired to Genoa, and urged Championnet to take upon him the command of the army. The honour of the victory of Novi was, unconditionally, aſcribed to Melas, by General Suwarrow; a degree of candour which will do honour to his memory, ſince it proves that he knew how to give to military merit its juſt tribute of applauſe; yet the part he himſelf took in the battle was conſidered ſo highly honourable, that his own ſovereign conferred on him the ſurname, Italiſky, upon the occaſion.

Suwarrow having detached his right wing, and given it in charge to Melas, to keep his eye on the movements of the Republican army, preſerving its advanced poſts on the Appenine mountains, took the route to Aſti with the centre diviſion of his army, to prevent the junction of Championnet's army with that of the deceaſed Joubert, or to force him to form it beyond the Alps, if he could not prevent it, and compel him to abandon the Ligurian Republic. Theſe movements were intended to forward the ſiege of Coni, which the delectable nature of the ſeaſon rendered it neceſſary to forward.

In the mean time the citadel of Tortona ſubmitted to a capitulation, on the proviſo that the place ſhould not be given up to the Combined Powers till the expiration of ten days from the date of its ſurrender, unleſs it ſhould be relieved during that

period. Every day now rendered the ſituation of Genoa more alarming; and Klenau, who had made himſelf maſter of Fort St. Maria, and Siſtri-di-Levante, proceeded on that ſide, while Admiral Nelſon blockaded the port. In this ſituation of affairs a real famine was experienced by the inhabitants; but the French did not abandon this intereſting and unfortunate city during the wars in Italy, which was at once the prey of the conquerors and the ultimate reſource of the conquered. The Bochetta continued free from depredations, and the entrenched ſituation of the French army in the Ligurian Republic remained unbroken General Klenau was eager to attack Recco, under favour of the Britiſh ſquadron, but he was obliged to yield to the ſuperior proweſs of General Miolis, who protected Genoa on the Eaſt, between the territory of Bobbio and the ſea. Moreau was perſonally preſent in this action, ſupporting the diviſion of Miolis with 1,500 men; the right wing of General Klenau was turned by the heights of Toriglia. Moreau engaged him in flank, while General Miolis marched againſt him in front. Klenau was compelled to retreat upon the mountains beyond Reppalo, after he had ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs.

The commander in chief of the army of Italy, ſent as many troops as he could poſſibly ſpare towards the Col de Tende, by the valley of Barcelonette, with a deſign to make a diverſion in favour of Coni and Feneſtrelles, which were blockaded by the Combined Powers; his left wing being extended on the greater and leſſer Mount Cenis, and Tarantin on little St. Bernard, and the valley of Aoſt.

The important truſt committed to Suwarrow was

equally arduous with that of Prince Charles in Switzerland, opposed as he was to the skill and courage of an active, enterprising enemy. On the 1st of September the centre of the army was at Asti; his left at Novi, defended Tortona, and its posts reached within sight of the Bochetta. His right wing extended towards the Po, near Turin, and the other posts were reinforced which guarded the entrances to the valleys of the Apls. Championnet, in the meantime, carried on a war of posts with remarkable activity, one of which made its entrance into Suse, 29 miles West-north-west of Turin; a second got possession of the town and valley of Asti, compelling the Imperial troops to fall back to the fort of Bard, situated on the Dora river, 39 miles North by West of Turin. While it seemed to be his intention to attack on the side of Coni, and the Col de Tende, he forced a number of important posts, and marched as far as Pignerol, 19 miles South-west of Turin, and 24 South-east of Suse. Moreau having maintained his positions on the side of the Eastern river, in defiance of the efforts of General Klenau, he pushed different deatchments as far as Basaluzzo, 10 miles South-east of Alexandria, and 16 North-east of Acqui, and made such preparations as evinced that he was still determined to advance.

Such was the state of things when the affairs of Switzerland obliged the commander in chief to send reinforcements to that quarter. The first column of the Russians began its march on the 8th of September, under General Rosenberg, who took the route by Novarra, intending to pass St. Gothard, by the way of Bellinzone. It is probable that Moreau had previous notice of this movement, for he left his

position the next day, at the head of 25,000 men, divided into three columns, the first of which was directed against Acqui, and the two others against Novi and Serravalla. Kray proceeded to meet him with his left wing and part of the centre division, when a desperate engagement took place, which ended in the defeat of the Republicans, and Moreau was obliged to resume his former positions. The citadel of Tortona surrendered to Suwarrow on the 11th of September, who having publicly expressed his gratitude to the Austrian generals, set out for Switzerland with the Russian rear-guard. When Tortona surrendered, Kray marched his whole army from Basaluzzo, where he covered the siege, marched against Alexandria, and afterwards upon Coni. The main body of the army under Melas, consisting of 35 battalions and five regiments of cavalry, assembled on the 9th at Bra, upon the Stura, because it was a position extremely centrical between the Alps and Appenines, calculated to stop the career of Championnet. and prevent his junction with Moreau, which he was seriously meditating.

Championnet was in the vicinity of Pignerol, when the troops sent towards Suse marched against Turin, to the amount of 7000 men; the left of the French army of the Alps took the route from Aost to Ivrea on the Dora, where the Austrian General, Haddic, was stationed, forming the right wing of the Imperial army. By these movements he menaced Turin, and the Austrian right flank, for which reason he marched in force to the entrance of the valley of the Stura, near Stabardo. On the 14th and 15th various engagements took place before Fossano and Savigliano, when General Godenstieim, with his ad-

vanced guard of 6000 men, was forced to abandon these two important posts; but Championnet had not long retained the possession of them when he was obliged to give them up.

When Championnet was no more than a single day's march from effecting a junction with Moreau, General Kray, who had collected his whole forces at Bra, proceeded to give battle to the French army, which had advanced too far, and was almost insulated. The camp at Bra was broken up on the 18th of September, when Kray, with his left wing, marched towards Fossano, and Melas, with the second division, was to act against Savigliano, who commenced the action, and it was retaken by the right wing. Fossano was abandoned, during the night, by the French, who retreated to Maira, with considerable loss. General Bellegarde, repulsed, on the side of of Rivoli, nine miles West of Turin, was supported by Kaim and Vukassowich, who compelled the French to retreat to Suse.

Since Moreau's retreat to Savona, 72 miles South-east-by-east of Turin, and his endeavours to free Tortona, no operation of importance had taken place on the side of Genoa. In this manner did Kray defend and secure the march of the Russian troops, who were making the utmost expedition to gain the pass of St. Gothard, by the route formerly mentioned.

Championnet now left the command of the Army of the Alps to General Duhere, and proceeded to receive from Moreau the chief command of the Army of Italy, which was to be considered as united to the Army of the Alps. Before Moreau set out for Paris, to which place he was ordered to repair, he addressed

his army in an animated ſpeech, and paid them many handſome compliments for their heroiſm and intrepidity and their laudable patience and perſeverance, in ſpite of every trouble or calamity.

The total of Suwarrow's army in Italy, did not exceed 20,000, although it had received a reinforcement of about 10,000 men in the beginning of July. The army on its march was joined at Mount Cenere, on the 15th September, by Suwarrow, who made every neceſſary preparation for an attack upon St. Gothard, and to effect a junction with the Imperial commanders Auffenberg and Jellachich, who were maſters of the frontiers of the Griſons and the ſmall cantons, oppoſite to the advanced guards of General Lecourbe.

CHAPTER XV.

The French enter Francfort and levy Contributions.—The Archduke takes the Command of the Army in Germany.—Expedition to Holland, under the Duke of York and Sir Ralph Abercrombie.—Various Engagements between the English and Dutch Troops.—Surrender of the Dutch Fleet to the English.—Great Exertions of the Dutch to reinforce their Army.—The Duke of York detained from joining the Expedition by contrary Winds.—General Dumonceau defeated by the English.

WHILST General Suwarrow intending to overwhelm the army of Maſſena on the Southern frontier of Switzerland, the French were about to make a very powerful diverſion to relieve him on the North, by a new inveſion of Germany. The troops deſtined to conſtitute the Army of the Rhine, were to be commanded by General Moreau, but were under General Muller, until the arrival of that officer. Muller fixed his head quarters at Manheim on the 25th of Auguſt, his advanced guard taking the route to Heidelberg and Schewetzingen. He iſſued a manifeſto to his army, ordering them to have a ſacred regard to property, which in that unhappy country had been too often violated; and this was followed by another, addreſſed to the inhabitants, urging them to confine themſelves to their houſes, and beware of taking up arms againſt the Republicans, if they expected to find them friends. He then proceeded to Schewetzingen, and from thence to Wiſloch, and forced the bulliers, under General

Szeckler to abandon Heidelberg, of which he instantly took possession.

Baraguy d'Hilliers, with the left wing of the army of the Rhine, marched from Mentz; its first division proceeded to Frankfort and the second to Aschaffenburg. The division before Frankfort took possession of the gates and outposts, when the Republican commander insisted on a considerable quantity of clothing being delivered up to him, which he knew was intended for the Austrian army. Baraguy d'Hilliers imposed upon the city a contribution of 528,000 livres; after which he crossed the Maine, and, penetrating into the country of Darmstadt, he arrived at Heidelberg on the 1st of September, where he formed a junction with the troops of General Muller. Having united their forces, they pushed their advanced guards as far as Heilbron; but the dragoons under La Tour coming in sight, to cooperate with Szeckler's hussars, repulsed the French, who were obliged to retreat, after they had either carried off or destroyed the magazines.

As soon as the Archduke was informed of the movements of the Republicans in Swabia, he sent, the 27th of August, eight battalions of Austrian infantry from Schaffhausen, part of whom took the route to Villengen, and the remainder by the way of the Brisgaw. This aid was rendered more important by the rising of the peasants and the *landsturm*, to which they had been strongly invited by the manifesto of the Elector of Mentz, who exhorted them to defend their own houses against the common enemy. The Baron d'Albini put himself at the head of the *landsturm*; and the armed peasants uniting with the

Auſtrian troops, defeated a body of Republicans in the vicinity of Seligenſtadt. The Elector allowed them the pay of field ſoldiers, which he promiſed to continue till the ſituation of the Imperial army ſhould render it prudent to diſband them. They were mixed with the infantry and cavalry of the line, in the ratio of ten to one, to be inſtructed in the military art.

By this means the Auſtrians received ſuch auxiliary force as they had formerly ſolicited in vain; and the courage of the country people was now as great as their terror had been on a former occaſion, and produced about 30,000 men, a greater number than it was thought neceſſary to employ. Baron d'Albini intimated to the commandant of Mentz, that if he permitted any of the German National Guards to be ſhot, he would certainly retaliate upon all thoſe whom the chances of war might throw in his way. This new raiſed army took its route acroſs the Maine at Francfort, got poſſeſſion of the banks of the river, and menaced the city of Mentz.

The territory of the Landgrave of Darmſtadt was conſidered as neutral, and therefore reſpected, while, in his turn, he was faithful to his ſtipulations and ſtrengthened the garriſon of Darmſtadt to preſerve that neutrality. The French did not confine their threatenings to the inhabitants who had taken up arms againſt them, for they poured their vengeance on different villages, and laid Sinzheim in aſhes. Muller having muſtered his troops on the 3d of September at Schweitzingen, found he had 18,000 men, with whom he inveſted Philipſburgh, and commanded a bridge of boats to be tranſported from Mentz, to preſerve his communications, and ſecure

his retreat. On the 7th, he began to bombard Philipsburgh, which was defended by the Rhingrave of Salm and an Austrian garrison.

The presence of the Archduke was now necessary to check these new inroads; he, therefore, resigned the command of the army in Switzerland to General Hotze, and relieved a body of troops, entrenched at Zurich, by a division of Russians. General Massena took advantage of the retrogade movements of the Allies on the lake of Zurich and Wallenstadt, by pressing closely on their left wing; he again attacked the Swiss legions at Wallinthoffen, under M. de Roverea; but the engagement between the advanced posts was productive of little advantage to either party. Soult and Molitor assaulted the posts of the enemy at Uznach and Glaris, and secured for themselves more advantageous positions. The Archduke's army, now under Hotze, did not alter its position at Zurich, although the rear was thus threatened, but persevered in its movements by the right flank, and passed the Rhine with a strong body, a part of which proceeded forward on the side of the Brisgaw.

Prince Charles fixed his head-quarters at Donawschingen on the 4th of September, from whence General Stzarray had proceeded to the relief of Philipsburg. This was designed to protect Swabia, and check the progress of the French army on the right side of the Rhine; but, though the Allies had been so successful during the campaign, they were incapable of [illegible] above the narrow spirit that had been [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] war; instead of [illegible] increased exertions of the French, [illegible] policy to

ſtrengthen one frontier by weakening another. General Kray received orders to retrograde with the diviſion under his command—this, with the Ruſſian auxiliaries in Switzerland, thoſe of the Prince of Condé, and the Imperial army under the Archduke in Swabia, altogether, formed a powerful barrier on the Rhine; but it was obtained by ſacrificing the hopes that had been entertained on the ſide of Italy, for the forces of Melas were ſcarcely able to make a ſtand, much leſs to act offenſively againſt the increaſing French army. From no part of this petty policy could the wiſe men of Downing-ſtreet be excuſed; they had projected an expedition to take Holland; but, inſtead of generouſly advancing with the Allies, whilſt they were yet able to make good their ground, the Engliſh firſt ſuffered their friends to be exhauſted, and then, from a ſenſe of mere ſhame, contributed their feeble help at the moment when it was too late to be uſeful. The grand expedition was concerted between England and Ruſſia; the chief command was given to Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Twelve battalions and ſome troops of cavalry were collected at Southampton; and this force was ſoon augmented with *ſuch rapidity*, that this *ſecret* expedition was known to be deſtined for the invaſion of Holland long before the ſailing of the troops. It was probably impoſſible to keep this affair altogether a ſecret; but it was ſo well known to the French government before it was ripe for execution, that it was *public* with them while it was called *ſecret* with the Engliſh: the principal points of attack were, however, well concealed. The chief ſtation of the tranſports for conveying the troops ſeemed to menace Zealand, the entrances of the

Meuſe and Scheldt, while it was preſumed, on the other hand, that the Ruſſians would make an aſſault upon Weſt Frieſland, and the province of Groninger, making their entrance by the Weſer, and the Ems. This was conjectured from the great diſtance of the Ruſſians, their tedious navigation, the great conſequence of making a diverſion on the oppoſite ſide, and the Eaſtern provinces, as theſe were conſidered to be beſt affected towards the re-eſtabliſhment of the Stadtholder.

This opinion was confirmed from the forming of magazines at Bremen, and cauſing the officers of the ci-devant government of Holland to meet at Lingen. Every advantage might have accrued from this ſtate of uncertainty, if thoſe who took the management of the Anglo-Ruſſian forces had been capable of improving them; for, as the power of the Batavian government was truly inſignificant, and even that muſt neceſſarily be divided, the whole coaſt was equally open to the invader, and the moſt populous part of the country was evidently that which would give opportunity to the greateſt number of the people to join the ſtandard of the Stadtholder. Other conſiderations took the lead upon the occaſion. The remnant of the Dutch fleet ſtill lay in the Texel, which would, probably, betray its truſt, could the Britiſh force the paſſage, reduce it to its own exertions, and detach it from the protection of the batteries. Admiral Mitchell, in the beginning of Auguſt, ſet ſail from the Downs with about 130 tranſports under his command, which had on board the firſt diviſion of the army.

The ſecond was commanded by his Royal High-

nefs the Duke of York, having the defignation of Generaliffimo conferred upon him; but it was to remain at Margate till news arrived of General Abercrombie's landing at the deftined port. This army to be commanded by the Duke of York, amounted to 45,000 men, including Britifh and Ruffians. The naval force of the Dutch, at that period, confifted of nine fail of the line, under Rear-admiral Story, and lay at anchor in the Texel. Not more than 20,000 forces could be levied, without the greateft difficulty, by the Dutch government; and France had been obliged to neglect the defence of Holland by the vaft reinforcements which were required by the armies of the Rhine and Switzerland. Brune was their commander in chief, authorifed by the Batavian government to take this office upon him by virtue of the treaty between the two Republics. He provided at firft for the defence of Zealand, as he expected the attack on that quarter. Daendels and Dumonceau were charged by him with the defence of the coafts of Holland and the Eaftern provinces, while he kept a body of troops in referve for the protection of fuch points as might be occafionally menaced.

Contrary winds retarded the progrefs of Admiral Mitchell, and fome of his veffels were feparated from the convoy; but it is not known whether the tempeft was the caufe, or whether they were intended to deceive as to the real point of attack, they only appeared on the coaft of Zealand, Groningen, and Eaft Friefland; but the Britifh fleet, on the 19th of Auguft, appeared on the coaft of North Holland. A fummons was next day fent to Admiral Story, by Lord Duncan, who had joined the fquadron under

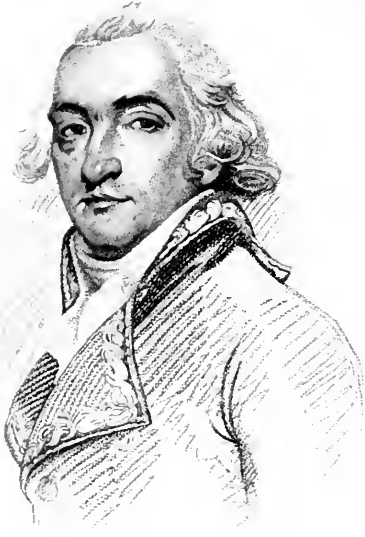
Admiral Mitchell, commanding him to ſurrender, and acknowledge the Prince of Orange the lawful ſupreme of that country; to ſet an example of ſubmiſſion before his ſquadron, which would, undoubtedly, be followed by every man under his command; to hoiſt the Orange flag, and join the ſquadron belonging to Great Britain. He was aſſured that 20,000 men had landed at the Helder, but he refuſed to comply. A ſummons, of a ſimilar purport, was ſent by General Abercrombie to the officer who commanded at the Helder, which was alſo received with indignation.

The Britiſh experienced adverſe winds till the 26th of Auguſt, when the fleet came to anchor between the mouth of the Texel and Calants-org, conſiſting of 15 ſail of the line, about 50 frigates, and 130 tranſports. Protected by the cannon of the fleet, General Abercrombie landed his grenadiers next morning, together with his light infantry. General Daendels having united his whole forces at the Great Keten, ſeven miles and a half South-weſt of the Helder, marched directly towards the Northen Sands, lying on the South of Huyſdnynen, and, when the Britiſh troops were on their march to this place, a ſevere engagement took place between the contending parties. Colonel Luch was killed upon the ſpot, during which period the remainder of Daendel's diviſion, the 5th demi-brigade, a regiment of cavalry, and a part of the artillery came forward, in conſtant ſucceſſion, and took a decided part in the action. The Britiſh vanguard was ſucceſsful, from the conſtant reinforcements it received; and the Dutch battalion of Herbig, which charged with the bayonet, was taken in flank by the Britiſh light infantry.

This battle continued till four in the afternoon, when the loſs of the Britiſh was about 1000 men, killed and wounded; however, the Dutch had every advantage on their ſide, by fighting on the ſandy and unequal ground of the downs, with which they were well acquainted.

For two days after this, Daendels maintained his poſition, his left wing being ſtationed at Petten, his right at Keten, and his centre at Zand. His forces, including the garriſon of the Helder, did not amount to 8000 men, and he fell back, on the 30th of Auguſt, to Avenhorn, his left wing behind Petten, and his centre at Schermerhoorne, by which means he could eaſily receive reinforcements from the French and Dutch troops, which, by forced marches, were coming from every quarter towards North Holland.

Brune, now no longer apprehenſive of attack either in South Holland or Zealand, arrived at Alkmaer on the 2d of September, and ſtationed himſelf to the left of the line. General Abercrombie in the meantime having gained the Helder Point, and completed the diſembarkation of his troops, entrenched his advanced poſts, and his left wing occupied the Helder Point, together with the batteries, which the Dutch had abandoned. The Britiſh at the ſame time got the command of the Texel, forcing Admiral Story to ſhift his anchorage and retire to the Vlieter, to be out of the reach of the hoſtile fleet. As a conſiderable part of the Britiſh convoy and frigates came to an anchor in the Texel on the 29th of Auguſt, Admiral Story, taking advantage of the favourable wind, determined to give them chace, or totally deſtroy them; in this ſituation of affairs, a ſpirit of diſobedience was diſcovered on board the Waſhington, under the pretext



General Lincoln.

that it was the intention of the Admiral to blow them up. The powder room was in poſſeſſion of the Orangiſts during the night, and, though an exemplary puniſhment was inflicted on a few individuals, it was inſufficient to reduce them to obedience.

The Britiſh fleet entered the Texel, while the wind and tide favoured the movements of Admiral Mitchell, who ſoon got poſſeſſion of the Vlieter anchorage, to which Admiral Story had retired. Thus ſituated, the Dutch commander craved a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, that he might have time to receive the ultimatum of the Batavian Government. Admiral Mitchell, on board the Iſis, frigate, anſwered the Dutch admiral by a poſitive command to hoiſt the Orange flag. Story gave the ſignal to prepare for an engagement, when, to his mortification, the crew unloaded the cannon, and threw the cartridges and balls into the ſea. The only captain was Van Scaden, of the La Batave, who was able to affirm that his men were in a ſtate of ſubordination, and that he would defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, if the Admiral would ſet the example. Story declared himſelf and all his officers priſoners of war, after ſpeaking in the moſt indignant terms of his different crews, and proteſting his inviolable attachment to the proſperity of the Republic.

The Orange flag was hoiſted on board the Dutch fleet two days after it floated from the batteries of the Texel and the Helder. Independent of the fleet which ſurrendered to Admiral Mitchell, three ſail of the line, five frigates, and five Eaſt Indiamen, together with the whole of the ſtores and artillery, were captured in the Nieuve Diep, an inlet from the Texel, on the Eaſt of the Helder, running into the ſands, that are overflowed at high tide and dry at low, the length

about five miles and a half. The disaffection of the Batavian fleet was not unknown to that government, from which General Abercrombie inferred that they would be disposed to negotiate with him for the Prince of Orange, before the arrival of the French forces; on which account he requested a passport for General Don, from General Daendels, as plenipotentiary to the Hague. This was refused, and the British commander was desired to transmit his sentiments in writing. The Batavian Government sent a deputation to Brune, at Alkmaer, declaring their determination to defend themselves to the last extremity, a resolution which was supported by fresh assurances, from the French Directory of speedy and effectual succours.

When the British forces were landed, General Brune directed all the troops under his command to proceed to Alkmaer by the way of Haerlem, and active measures were adopted for protecting Amsterdam on the side of the Zuyder-Zee. On the 3d of September the troops under General Dumonceau marched through Amsterdam, while all the troops on the side of the Hague, on the West coasts, and at the entrance of the Meuse, also filed off towards Alkmaer, by the way of Egmont. The inhabitants of every village appeared in arms; and, when requisitions were made for two, three, or 500 men, the complement generally raised amounted to 1000; and in some places every individual capable of bearing arms joined the army of North Holland; all this was, however, nothing more than would have taken place if the whole of the inhabitants had been desirous of joining the Orange standard. While these reinforcements were collecting, the British army marched forward and posted them-

ſelves in the Zyp, a very low and interſected ground, about nine miles in extent from North-north-weſt to South-ſouth-weſt, protected by a dyke on the coaſt behind which they entrenched themſelves.

General Brune, in order to concentrate his forces, ordered the Batavian and French diviſions to change their ſituation by their left, and take a poſition before Alkmaer, puſhing their advanced poſts to Schorel and Groet, as near as poſſible to the ſea and the advanced guard of the Britiſh army. The troops from England, had received no reinforcements, except about 5000 men, under General Don, from the diviſon of the Duke of York; for the Ruſſian troops had not been met at ſea by thoſe who were ſent to direct them to ſteer for the Texel; they ſhaped their courſe for Yarmouth, and were there detained for ſome time by contrary winds; and the greater part of the cavalry, together with the Duke of York, were detained, for a ſimilar reaſon. General Abercrombie had about 17,000 men in his entrenchments behind the dyke on the Weſt of the Zyp, while Brune found his army had increaſed to 25,000; for this reaſon, Abercrombie was afraid to hazard a general engagement, till he could unite with the Ruſſian troops. About this time General Vandamme came from Bruſſels, and Kellerman announced that reinforcements were on their way from the Low Countries.

The column of the Republican troops proceeded towards Petten by the way of Groet and Camp, where it carried the entrenched poſt, and arrived on the heights of Dubbel-duyn. The Britiſh forces were powerfully protected by two brigs and two frigates, while ſtationed behind the head or North-eaſt

end of the Zyp Dyke, where they had erected ſtrong redoubts. The dyke was turned by the French, who found themſelves expoſed, in conſequence of this movement, to a tremendous fire. The French ſuſtained a ſerious loſs, but nevertheleſs, retreated, and defended themſelves in Petten, which, however, they abandoned in the afternoon, and retired to their original poſition. The operations of the centre were accompanied with ſtill leſs ſucceſs; General Dumonceau took the route to Schoreldam, bordering on the South of the Zyp, and carried the entrenched poſt at Crabbendam, but found it impracticable to force the entrenchments of the Zyp: ſome battalions were totally routed, and he was forced to fall back. The right wing marched forward with intrepidity, but was thrown into diſorder by the exclamations of the Orangiſts among the troops, who cried out "Save who can, we are entirely ſurrounded!"—an exclamation which induced the greater part of Daendel's army to betake themſelves to flight. This fruitleſs endeavour induced the French and Batavian army to reſume its former poſition. The army of the Dutch recieved freſh reinforcements; and General Brune commanded the authors of the route to be tried by a court martial, and the behaviour of the different officers to be ſtrictly examined.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Duke of York and Hereditary Prince of Orange sail from Yarmouth.—Various Engagements and Manouvres of the hostile Armies.—The Anglo-Russians defeated.—Daendels defeated by the British.—The Duke of York defeats the Republicans, but is routed at Alkmaer—He signs a Capitulation, and evacuates Holland.—The English take Surinam.

ON the day whereon the last-mentioned battle was fought the Duke of York set sail from Yarmouth, with 80 sail of transports. The Hereditary Prince of Orange made a feigned attack on two different points of the frontier of Overyssel, at a distance from one another. He gave a summons to the small fortress of Coevorden, on the frontiers of Bentheim, and marched forward on the side of Arnheim, at the place where the Rhine and Yssel unite their streams. From this place he pushed forward a party of his adherents as far as Wester-Forte, and Yssel-Oort, situated three miles East of Arnheim; but his endeavours were ineffectual, and the manifesto of the Stadtholder did not succeed in procuring the attachment of a single individual. The people, from habit, considered those the government who had possession of the Hague; and they had so fully expected that the first landing of the British would be at Scheveling, within a mile and an half of that place, that they doubted whether His Highness and the invaders had any other object in view than to get possession of the fleet; when they saw, that, instead of going home at once,

where there was no obſtacle to oppoſe them, the Prince and his friends went round about at the extremities, where they could neither protect the people, nor be joined by them. His Highneſs was attacked and routed by the national guards of Arnheim and Oudenarde; and, having received information of the capture of the Batavian fleet, he ſet out for Embden, and there embarked, with his officers, to join the army of the Duke of York.

The poſition which had been occupied by General Abercrombie, and the experiment he had made of his ſtation behind the Zyp, in point of ſtrength, put it in his power to paſs ſtrong detachments, for the purpoſe of obtaining thoſe reinforcements of which he ſtood in need. The fleet of gunboats, belonging to Britain, which had made their entrance into the Zuyder Zee, got poſſeſſion of the town of Modenblick, which gave a conſiderable degree of uneaſineſs to the Government for the ſafety of Amſterdam.

As General Brune waited for reinforcements, and urged the Batavian Government to ſend the quota of national guards without loſs of time, he reſted contented with confining General Abercrombie to his ſtrong poſition—a poſition in which he found it impracticable to prevent his receiving the Ruſſian auxiliaries and the ſecond diviſion of Britiſh troops. The advanced poſts of the French and Batavians puſhed within muſket-ſhot of the entrenchments, although defended by a number of ſmall dykes. Every day the poſitions of the hoſtile parties became more reſpectable; and on the 15th of September a ſevere action took place between the advanced poſts, inclining towards the centre of the lines at Warmanhuyſen, of which the Britiſh had taken poſſeſſion, but

were now obliged to abandon, by the exertions of General Dumonceau with his grenadiers and infantry. This event happened at the instant when the Duke of York arrived at the Texel, who, having disembarked his troops, united himself with those at Zyp, then making a total of about 22,000 men. Thirteen thousand Russians arrived from Yarmouth about two days after, under General Herman, who had no sooner arrived than he was ordered to take immediate possession of Petten, on the right of the line.

The Combined Army at this place now made a total of 35,000 men. Similar motives to those which influenced Brune to engage General Abercrombie before the Russians came up, induced his Royal Highness to attack the French army prior to its receiving the reinforcements, which were on their way from the Low Countries and from the Rhine. He made his dispositions with uncommon haste, and the Russian forces were divided between the right wing, where they constituted the head of the column, supported by the British, and the centre, with which they were intermixed. The column of the right, under General Herman, was to fight in opposition to the French column, commanded by Vandamme; Dumonceau headed the centre of the Dutch, and their right was under General Daendels. The centre and left wing of the combined army were under the command of the Duke of York, who detached about 7000 men, under General Abercrombie, to force on Hoorn, and march on the right wing of the Dutch, to surround them at the moment when Brune's left should be defeated by the Russians, and be cut off in this manner from the more. These manœuvres were intended to flank both wings of Brune's army, and thus force

him to abandon his position at Alkmaer. As General Abercrombie found no more than two companies of infantry at Hoorn, he met with no opposition.

On the 19th of September the battle commenced, at the dawn of day, and extended along the whole line. General Herman, with a body of Russians and a division of British, forced the advanced posts of the French at Camp, and then pushed forward to surround General Vandamme's division, who was compelled to retreat. The Russians took Schoreldam, and Bergen in a short time after, which was the property of the Prince of Nassau, being surrounded with woods, in which the French concentrated themselves, having found it impossible to resist the attack of General Herman, who by this time was distant from Alkmaer about half a league. The Russians were now beyond the rear of Brune's centre, while the Duke of York, at the head of a strong division of British forces, and a number of Russians, made preparations for attacking him in front.

During these transactions, General Brune, feeling his situation becoming every moment more critical, dispatched the rear-guard of Dumonceau's division against Bergen, by a bridge of communication on the canal leading to the Zyp, giving orders to General Daendels to draw nearer the centre, which this movement had considerably enfeebled. The Russians having pushed too far, were suddenly attacked on both flanks by Generals Vandamme and Dumonceau, without being able to communicate with the centre of the British. Having surrounded the village of Bergen by the left of General Herman, on the side of the downs, and by his right towards Alkmaer, Vandamme engaged him at the point of the bayonet, and

the village was recaptured, after a ſevere conteſt. The Ruſſians fought like men in the agonies of deſpair, and, when totally routed, their remains fought in the church and in dwelling-houſes, where the enemy made dreadful havoc of them. Herman's retreat was cut off, himſelf taken priſoner, and General Eſſen, the ſecond in command, was dangerouſly wounded.

General Dumonceau, although wounded at the commencement of the action, maintained his poſition, but his troops were deſperate ſufferers, as they ſuſtained the ſhocks of the Britiſh centre, and ſtoped it from contributing to the aid of the right wing. General Daendels, poſted at Oude-Carſpel, met with as warm a reception from the Britiſh as the left wing had done from the Ruſſians; he conflicted honourably till paſt noon-day, when he was obliged to abandon his poſition, with a conſiderable loſs of men and artillery. His diviſion had been weakened by the reinforcements he diſpatched to the ſupport of the centre, yet he rallied his forces, and came again into action before the cloſe of the day. He attacked and carried the poſt of Broek (four miles and a half North-eaſt of Haerlem) and the batteries, of which he had been lately deprived, on the ſide of Oude-Carſpel. As the right wing of the Duke of York experienced a deſeat, he cauſed his left to fall back, being too much extended, and alſo too weak, after the detachment, under General Abercrombie, had been ſent againſt Hoorn. The general evacuated this place in the night, and the whole of the Combined Army reſumed its former poſition at the Zyp. This retreat enabled General Brune to retake the poſts which had been occupied by him before the engagement, and ought to be regarded as the laſt

rational effort of the Anglo-Ruſſians; for the cautious populace, who feared to join the Orange ſtandard till they ſhould ſee it wave upon the towers of Amſterdam, now loſt all confidence in the Britiſh commander, and conſidered the ſtruggle as merely between the French and Engliſh.

About 70 gunboats, belonging to the French, having arrived from Dunkirk, by the canals of the Low Countries and Holland, preparations were made for the defence of the Pampus, or entrance from the Zuyder Zee to Amſterdam. The two hoſtile armies ſtrongly entrenched themſelves in their reſpective poſitions, and, from the obſtacles they threw in the way of each other, became every day more formidable, both continually receiving reinforcements. The Ruſſian rear-guard landed in the Texel, amounting to more than 2000 men, and a French demi-brigade marched through Amſterdam on its way to Alkmaer, while ſtrenuous exertions were making for increaſing the battalions of national guards. Little of importance happened from the battle of Bergen during ten days, in which time the Duke of York ſtrengthened his right wing, which was flanked by the German Ocean on the Weſt and the towns of Modenblick and Enckhuyſen, on the Zuyder Zee, on the left. From theſe poſts different parts of that ſea were annoyed by the fleet of gunboats, and the Britiſh having got poſſeſſion of the Lemmer, made a deſcent upon Friefland, attacked Staveren, and ordered Harderwick to ſurrender; but theſe childiſh efforts were attended with no beneficial conſequences.

When the left diviſion of the Ruſſians arrived, the Allies adopted offenſive meaſures; but, as Brune's

General Abercrombie.

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army was ſtill too weak, he waited for a diviſion from the Low Countries, to be ſent him by Kellerman, who was haſtening its march towards North Holland; and no exertion was neglected by the Batavian Government to complete its battalions; from theſe exertions the defenſive ſituation of the French and Dutch was rapidly ſtrengthened. General Brune fortified the entrenchments by which his left was defended, particularly in front of the village of Bergen. This part of his poſition was made extremely important by the woods, with which it was environed, and the downs by which it was protected and commanded towards the North, in the direction of Schoreldam. The ground extending from the downs to the ſea was favourable for the adoption of offenſive meaſures, while it was almoſt impoſſible to penetrate his centre and right wing.

The Duke of York made a general attack on the enemy, with his whole forces, on the 2d of October. As he found it impracticable to perform any military movement by his left wing, or to riſk an engagement in the paſſes, he again made a vigorous effort againſt the left wing of General Brune; the advanced poſts of it, and of the centre of the French and Dutch army, were driven at firſt from Groet, Kamp, Schorel, and Schoreldam, places all bordering on the South-weſt of the Zyp. The attack of the Duke of York was in four columns; the right, which was compoſed of three brigades of infantry, nine ſquadrons of dragoons, and a detachment of artillery, was commanded by General Abercrombie, and took the direction of the ſea-ſhore. Two columns, nearly of an equal force, and compoſed of Ruſſians and Britiſh, took their route againſt Bergen,

and having taken the road at the foot of the downs of Camp, extended themſelves towards the heights; and the fourth column was employed in retarding the progreſs of General Daendels. When the poſts of Schoreldam were carried the battle raged with fury before Bergen, where General Gouvion commanded, who ſuſtained the attack of General Dundas, and reſolutely maintained his ground till General Abercrombie drove back as far as Egmont every thing that oppoſed his march, after paſſing Bergen, and attempting to turn the poſition of Alkmaer.

Egmont was defended by Vandamme as well as Bergen had been; but the Republicans in the night were obliged to abandon both places, after as ſanguinary a conteſt as had yet taken place in Holland. With equal ſucceſs the Allies attacked the centre diviſion of the French and Batavian army at Langdyke and Koe-dyke; ſome gunboats, ſtationed along the canal of Alkmaer, were aſſiſting in the reduction of Sohoreldam and the progreſs of the columns. The Scotch Highlanders acquired diſtinguiſhed honour on this occaſion, for their courage and activity, by fighting in the inundations, and bravely ſurmounting every obſtacle in their way to gain the flank of the oppoſing enemy. As the left wing of General Brune's army was ſeverely handled by the diviſion under General Abercrombie, and his centre broken, he deemed it neceſſary to fall back, which he did in good order, taking a poſition ſuperior to his former one, with his left wing at Wyk-op-zee, and his centre diviſion at Krimman-dyke.

The diviſion under Daendels had not been brought into action, yet he found it neceſſary to imitate the example of the centre and left, and abandon the po-

ſition of Broek, Pancras, and Oud Carſpel, and to retreat towards Purmerend and Monikendam. The advanced poſts were at Limmen, Baccum, Akerſloot, and the head-quarters at Beverwick, ſeven miles and a half North of Haerlem, and 11 and a half South-ſouth-weſt of Alkmaer. This ſtation was taken poſſeſſion of by the Britiſh troops on the enſuing day, who puſhed forward their advanced poſts on a ſtraight line with thoſe of the French and Batavian army, while Brune found means to ſecure himſelf in the poſition he had occupied.

When the Britiſh forces accompliſhed the defeat of the French and Dutch troops they threatened the capture of Amſterdam, from which they were at no great diſtance, with the left wing of their army. Two days afterwards the contending armies reſted, but on the enſuing day the whole of the enemy's line was attacked by the Duke of York. If he viewed it poſſible to carry the concentrated poſition of Brune, it was extremely proper to prevent him from taking footing, and the ſtronger the right wing of the Dutch became by virtue of the inundations, the more intereſting it was to puſh back the body of troops entrenched at Beverwick, 11 miles and a half South-ſouth-weſt of Alkmaer. Some advantages were acquired by the Britiſh and Ruſſian troops in this ſecond attack, for they ſucceeded in carrying Akerſloot, five miles South of Alkmaer, and proceeded as far as Caſtricum; but in this action, the fortune of war was ſuddenly changed, Brune ſeized a favourable moment to charge the enemy at the head of his cavalry, when he broke the line of the Britiſh and Ruſſians, who could neither grant any mutual aſſiſtance, nor maintain the ground they had already acquired. With very conſiderable loſs

they were driven beyond Baccum; and this charge made by Brune, who had two horſes killed under him, contributed in a high degree to the ſucceſs of the day. The battle raged till the evening, and the united army of the French and Dutch reſumed its poſition at Beverwick. The Duke of York then called a council of war, when it was agreed that the army ſhould fall back upon the Zyp, and there wait the ultimatum of his Britannic Majeſty, which, all circumſtances conſidered, was expected to be the evacuation of North Holland. The advanced ſtate of the ſeaſon prevented a change of operations, and the navigation of the roads of the Texel was become ſo dangerous as no longer to admit the ſailing of tranſports; and the vaſt expenſes, with which this expedition was attended, was not likely to be counterbalanced by any equivalent advantage.

Enekhuyſen, and Modenblik were abandoned by the Anglo-Ruſſian army, where they deſtroyed the dock-yards, the marine eſtabliſhments, the Eaſt India company's veſſels, and whatever public property came in their way. The ſhips of war and their crews, that had ſurrendered, were all ſent to England. The troops retreated in tolerable order, but, for want of carriages, were obliged to leave behind them a part of their wounded. While they were entrenched at the Zyp, the diviſion of Daendels cloſed upon their left wing, annoyed their rear-guard, and took poſſeſſion of the poſts which they were obliged to abandon. General Dumonceau kept up a communication with Daendels, whoſe troops proceeded as far as Suydwinkel, and gained poſſeſſion of the Zee-dyke, in which the Britiſh had made an opening of 19 feet—a means of defence they were obliged to take on this

desperate occasion. The French and Batavian army occupied a position near the Zyp, the left wing being stationed before Petten, the centre at Warmanhuysen, and the right before Suyd-Winkel.

In this relative situation of the contending armies, the Duke of York sent a flag of truce to General Brune, and proposed to capitulate on the footing of an armistice, or the free retreat and re-embarkation of his troops. Generals Knox and Rostollan were empowered to negotiate, and drew up the articles of capitulation.

Such was now the situation of the British army in the Batavian Republic, that it was even doubted whether the troops of Great Britain and her Allies would be granted a free embarkation, till the official dispatches of the Duke of York dissipated the gloom which hung over the public mind. On the 20th of October his Royal Highness wrote from Schagen Brug, that hostilities had ceased, and that articles of capitulation had been mutually agreed to by the contending powers, by virtue of which, the troops of Russia and Britain were to be permitted to return to their respective countries without any molestation. Those terms were procured by the foresight of the Duke of York, who had taken care to keep possession of the dykes, which would have enabled them to have indundated the country in case of extremities.

It was granted by this treaty, that the mounted batteries, which had been captured by the Combined Forces, included in the line they occupied at the time of signing the capitulation, should be restored, in their original or improved state, and the Batavian artillery preserved entire which they might be found to contain. The British and Russian troops agreed to evacuate the whole territories of the Batavian Republic

by the 30th of November, 1799, without being guilty of any acts of devaſtation, cruelty, or plunder. Eight thouſand priſoners, French and Dutch, taken prior to the preſent campaign, and particularly comprehending Admiral de Winter, were to be, unconditionally, returned to their reſpective countries; the ſelection of the priſoners to be agreed on by the two Republics. The loſs of the Britiſh and Ruſſians was eſtimated at 15,000 killed and wounded.

Thus ended an expedition, not leſs contemptible on account of its inadequacy for its object than for the ſeaſon in which it was undertaken, and the manner in which it was conducted: Inſtead of landing whilſt the French cabinet was diſtracted, it was delayed till the new Directory had collected its ſtrength, and then, inſtead of carrying a force ſufficient to encourage the people it propoſed to aid, the troops landed by driblets, juſt time enough to meet the French reinforcements as they arrived to receive them; and, to complete the folly, inſtead of their going to Scheveling, or the Meuſe, where they might have ſeized the Government and been joined by the people, they got into a corner, where it was impoſſible for any perſon to follow them without declaring himſelf a rebel and a traitor to the exiſting rulers.

To counterbalance this diſgraceful affair, it muſt not be forgotten, that the laſt of the Dutch colonies, of any value, in South America,—Surinam, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, on the 19th of Auguſt, in a manner ſimilar to the ſurrender of their fleet in the Texel, without the ſhadow of oppoſition. This war in Holland had ſo perplexed the Directory of France, that it could not ſend ſuch aſſiſtance to the Rhine as was neceſſary to carry on offenſive meaſures.

CHAPTER XVII.

Various Successes of the Austrians, under the Archduke Charles.—Russia declares War against Spain.—Suwarrow enters Switzerland.—Death of General Hotze.—Various Successes of the French in Switzerland.—They take Zurich Sword in Hand, and advance rapidly.—The Allies defeated, near Altorf, with great Slaughter, and repeatedly beaten afterwards.—The Allies Retreat.

MULLER having retreated from Heilbron, was reinforced by detachments from the different garrisons in the neighbourhood: however, he could not raise above 20,000 men; a force insufficient to maintain its ground before the superior army of the Archduke, who was on his march against him. The retreat of Prince Charles from Switzerland, with the principal part of the Austrian army, had not been productive of the designed effects, and Massena found it impracticable to derive the advantages he expected from the successes of Chabran and Lecourbe against the centre and left wing of the Combined Army. As the Archduke seemed to meditate the turning of the left wing of the Republican army between Brisach and Basil, Massena was kept in a state of uncertainty, which prevented him from either attacking the advanced posts of General Hotze, or the left flank and rear of the Austro-Russian army, without running the hazard of being himself cut off from the right wing of his army.

The main body of the Austrian army which was, on the 11th of September, encamped between Echter-

dingen and Waldenſbruch, perſevered in its forced marches. The advanced guard of Nauendorf, and the diviſion under General Stzarray, had already ſent their light troops againſt the advanced poſts of the Republicans, who had abandoned Bruchſal, and raiſed the ſiege of Philipſburg. For two days prior to this period, they had endeavoured to ſcale the entrenchments of Rhineſheim and Wieſenthal, but were defeated with conſiderable loſs by the Rhinegrave of Salm, and the town was relieved which he had ſo gallantly defended. The bombardment of Philipſburg laſted five days and five nights, during which time, it was reduced to a heap of ruins with the exception of a very few houſes. It is ſupppoſed that no bombardment had ever been ſo dreadful ſince the commencement of the war.

Muller evacuated Heidelberg on the 15th of September, and encamped before Manheim, on the North ſide of the Necker river, after he had ſent his artillery and baggage beyond the Rhine. The troops divided when they reached the left ſide of the river Rhine; 6000 men going North, by the way of Mentz, while another diviſion took the route Southward to Spires and Germerſheim, five miles Weſt by South of Philipſburgh. A rear-guard of 6000 men, under General Laroche, continued entrenched at Manheim, and in ſuch works as had either been repaired or imperfectly erected. With uncommon diligence the Archduke collected about 25,000 men in the plains of the Neckar on the 16th of September, marching, in perſon, to Seckinheim, and began an attack on the enemy with the forces commanded by Stzarray and Koſpeth. Theſe were driven back at the commencement of the action; but a ſecond aſſault with the battalions of

grenadiers decided the conteſt, and a redoubt on the right ſide of the Neckar was carried, and all the remaining entrenchments at that place.

As the artillery of the Auſtrians had taken advantageous poſitions from the commencement of the attack, on the banks of the river, which had the command of the bridge of boats, the Republicans found it impoſſible to make good their retreat; the gates of the town of Seckenheim were forced open, and more than one half of Laroche's diviſion were made priſoners of war, after having loſt nearly the whole of the remainder. Succeſsful at this place, the Archduke proceeded to Schwetzingen, than which no place was ever more frequently taken and retaken by the contending powers during the whole courſe of the war. Both ſides of the Maine below Francfort were now in the poſſeſſion of the Archduke. The head-quarters of the landſturm, or the militia, which were furniſhed by the Electorate of Mentz, was at Hochſt; and the utmoſt exertions were employed to haſten the arrival of pontoons, and great preparations were making, with a view to croſs the Rhine, the Archduke being employed in collecting the Auſtrian army and that of the empire, computed to amount to about 60,000 men.

The Republicans on the lower Rhine, with equal activity and zeal, cauſed the detachments to fall back upon Ehrenbreitſtein in that quarter, which had formerly advanced as far as Weilburg and Wetzlaer. As it appeared uncertain at what place his Royal Highneſs would attempt to force the paſſage of the Rhine; and as Muller could not comprehend his deſigns, he circumſcribed his operations by the protection of Mentz, fixed his head-quarters at Dork-

heim, 18 miles South-eaſt of Mentz, and declined all communication with the poſts on the right ſide of the river

The confidence of the Allies ſeemed to derive new vigour from the zealous ſupport that the coalition received from the Emperor of Ruſſia. During theſe tranſactions, he publiſhed a declaration of war againſt Spain, as an ally of France. It was no doubt his object to reſtore the old monarchy, by the aſſiſtance he rendered to the coalition, and the hoſtilities he carried on againſt every government friendly to France. The aſſiſtance given by Spain, was the oſtenſible reaſon for his declaration of hoſtilites againſt the court of Madrid, in which he maintained that, in conjunction with his Allies, he would not ceaſe to act againſt the French Republic till he had effected its overthrow.

Denmark, alſo, about this period, had likewiſe incurred the diſpleaſure of the Emperor; for which reaſon, every veſſel belonging to his Daniſh majeſty's ſubjects was ordered to quit the ports of Ruſſia. Denmark ſo far yielded to the wiſhes of the Emperor as to circumſcribe the liberty of the preſs; and all thoſe were to be baniſhed who ſhould write againſt a monarchical government. Sweden went farther ſtill, and, on the requiſition of the Emperor, joined the combination againſt France, at leaſt in appearance. But the King of Spain was not ſo near a neighbour: he anſwered Paul's manifeſto with leſs pliancy,—he would always endeavour to maintain the alliance he had formed with the French Republic, and conſidered the object of the coalition to be an inſatiable thirſt for dominion, and a deſire to tyranniſe over every nation that would not accede to its ambitious views.

He declared, that Ruſſia had always been moſt forward in the exerciſe of this horrid opinion, whoſe emperors had frequently aſſumed titles to which they had no rational claim; and finally, that the court of Spain would not degrade itſelf ſo much as to notice the incoherent and inſolent language of the Ruſſian manifeſto.

Whilſt the Allies were ſtruggling with ſuch unequal ſucceſs in Holland and Germany, events of not leſs magnitude took place in Switzerland. Suwarrow gained the poſt of Airolo, at the entrance of St. Gothard, on the 17th of September, having paſſed the difficult valley of the Levantine, and the next day got poſſeſſion of the paſs of St. Gothard. Auffenberg deſcended by the Maderanerthal, or valley of Maderaner, with the troops under his command, Northward into the valley of the Ruſs, in order to join Suwarrow at Steig. The entrance of this old warrior into Switzerland was admirably executed, and his ſucceſs was the more remarkable, as his officers and men had lately been in Italy, and were not much acquainted with fighting among mountains.

Hotze had the command of the Auſtrian troops in Switzerland, conſiſting of 29 battalions, and four regiments of cavalry. Having been obliged to evacuate Glaris and Neſſels, or Naffels, by ſuperior numbers, he took an advantageous poſition behind the Linth, between Veſen and Utznach, having his head-quarters at Kaltbrun, while his left wing covered the entrance into the Griſons. The Ruſſians extended in a North-weſt direction as far as Baden, from Utznach along the lake of Zurich, and the Limmat, a diſtance of about 36 miles. General

Turreau, with a division of Massena's army, was posted on the right of Vallais; Lecourbe was stationed at St. Gothard, before the arrival of Suwarrow; Soult was at Glaris with his division, reaching as far as Adlitwill; General Martin's division from that place to Dietikon, and that of General Lorges from thence to Baden. The Republican army from St. Gothard to Baden amounted to 64,000 men, exclusive of 8000 in the Vallais, and 6000 in Basil on the Rhine, both at a distance from the scene of action. After the arrival of Suwarrow the Combined Army amounted to about 80,000 men.

In the mean time Lecourbe had gained considerable advantages over the enemy, and Massena pressed with vigour upon their left wing, that he might the more effectually attack their centre. Lecourbe advanced to turn every position by the valley of the Grisons which defended the line of General Hotze. In this manner the Republican chief gradually prepared for a general action; and the news of Suwarrow's progress made him accelerate his plans, to prevent the enemy from executing the same designs on his right wing in the North-west of Switzerland, which he was meditating against the left of the Combined Army in the South-east. The position of Hotze was highly advantageous, and therefore Massena determined, if possible, to force him to abandon it at the commencement of the battle, with a view of cutting off his communication with General Jellachich, and of preventing his junction with Suwarrow, by the cantons of Schweitz and Glaris. To facilitate the execution of these objects, Massena feigned a variety of movements in the Frickthal and on the Aar; and, after he had engaged the attention of the

Allies by a pretended attack against Bruck, on the Aar, General Lorges was commanded to pass the Limmat above Baden, and engage the Russians on the opposite bank.

The division commanded by Mortier, and the reserve, under Klein, marched on to the heights of Regespurg, Westward of Zurich, and made their attack in front. At the instant the action was to commence, Soult was ordered to cross the Limmat, and come to an engagement with the advanced posts of the Imperialists. The impetuosity of this attack threw Hotze into consternation; when, having learned that the French had passed the Limmat, he mounted his horse, and, with a few officers in his train, proceeded towards the advanced posts, in order to reconnoitre between Schennis and Kaltbrun, where his temerity proved fatal to him, for his party was surrounded, and he himself remained dead on the field of battle. This was a serious loss to the Combined Powers in their present situation, as his skill was equal to his courage, and his death gave as much pain to the Allies as the fall of Joubert had formerly done to the Republicans. Born at Zurich, he was intimately acquainted with that difficult country, and might be said to have perished almost at his own home.

The advantages at first acquired by the Republicans were ardently followed up, and with their usual perseverance. They gained possession of the bridge of Grinaw, at the fort of the Brunberg, and entrance of the Linth into the Lake of Zurich. This post was retaken by the Prince of Wirtemberg, but he was unable to maintain it against the assaults of the French, after the loss of General Hotze. The Prince's division was defeated by Soult, who forced

it to retreat by the Goldiner Thal, into the Toggenburg. The left wing, under Petrafch, after the fall of Hotze, was thus feparated from the centre, and the left flank and rear were unprotected. Equally fuccefsful were the attacks of the French againft Zurich, for every poft was carried by General Lorges, the camp of the Ruffians was forced, and themfelves driven back to the walls of Zurich. Mortier and Klein carried the Weftern heights with uncommon bravery; and the Ruffians defended them with fuch obftinate fury, that the number of flain was prodigious. The Republicans were victorious, and gained poffeffion of the whole of the enemy's baggage and artillery. The rear-guard, blockaded in Zurich, refused to furrender, which place was carried by the French, fword in hand. After this, Prince Korfakow retreated towards Eglifau and Shaffhaufen, by the way of Bulach and Wintherthur.

The Republicans being now mafters of Zurich, both fides of the lake, and the courfe of the Glatt, continued their purfuit of the Ruffians and Auftrians on the Eaft by St. Gall, on the North by Schaffhaufen; nor were the Allies capable of rallying, or of taking any pofitions on the Thur, but were forced to crofs the Rhine, and place the Lake of Conftance between them and the victorious Republicans. The French advanced guard took poffeffion of the towns of Conftance and Peterhaufen. Suwarrow, in the mean time, forced back the troops of Gaudin as far as Altorf, but his career was ftopped by the troops under Loifon and others, who had been detached for that purpofe, by Lecourbe. He intended to penetrate the right wing of the French army, to march into the canton of Zurich, by the valley of the Linth, and, having compelled the left wing of Maf-

ſena to fall back, to collect before him the two corps which had previouſly been defeated. This project was deemed intereſting by Suwarrow, as appears from a letter he ſent to the commander of the Ruſſian troops, who had been obliged to abandon Zurich. "You ſhall anſwer with your head if you make another retrograde ſtep: I am coming to repair your errors."

As it appeared manifeſt to Maſſena, that the wing of Lecourbe could not ſuſtain the ſhock of Suwarrow's army, combined with the troops of Jellachich and Auffenberg, he ſet out to aſſiſt him with 15,000 men. Mortier was ordered againſt Schwitz, Soult was to attack Veſen, and he himſelf marched in perſon to attack Altorf. Marſhal Linken obtained ſome advantages to the left of the lake of Wallenſtadt, took two Republican battalions, and attempted to favour the movements of Suwarrow by the centre; but, finding it impracticable to carry on a communication either with his right or left wing, he was forced to withdraw into the Griſons. Suwarrow penetrated no farther than Brunnen, two miles Southweſt of Schwitz, when it appeared to him that he had ventured too far, and was determined not to hazard a general action. The lower valley of Glaris, the paſſage between the lakes of Zurich and Wallenſtadt, were entirely ſhut againſt him; and had he puſhed forward to Einſidlin, he would have found it impoſſible to avoid the ſnare which was laid for him by Maſſena, who, by ſurrounding his left flank, could have cut off his retreat from the country of the Griſons.

The Allies did not accompliſh this retreat without great loſs, owing to the difficulty of the paſſes across the mountains, and the rapid movements of their

purſuers. Their rear-guard was nearly cut to pieces, by the troops which Maſſena marched againſt Altorf; and their wounded, the number of which was immenſe, could not be tranſported. Almoſt the whole of their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the Republicans, and the Ruſſian general narrowly eſcaped being made a priſoner. It was reaſonable to infer that this final attempt of Suwarrow to effect a junction of the two armies, would have been favoured by a movement of Prince Korſakow againſt the left wing of the French army, ſince the Allies had recroſſed the Rhine, and marched upon Wintherthur, while Maſſena, with ſo much judgment defended his right wing by a part of his centre. The greater part of Korſakow's column had croſſed the bridge of Diedenhoffen, while Condé's troops, and thoſe of Bavaria, entered into the Thurgau by the bridge of Conſtance.

When Maſſena was made acquainted with this manœuvre, he gave orders to Soult to march at firſt againſt Rheineck, at the head of the Lake of Conſtance, with a view to ſecure his right flank, and ſtop the career of the Auſtrian forces under General Petraſch, which had already croſſed the Rheinthal, and retreated to Feldkirch and Bregentz. He paſſed, at the ſame time, from the right to the left of the army, headed, in perſon, the diviſions before Zurich, and met the Allies on the 7th of October, between the Thur and the Rhine, which laſt river they were obliged to recroſs, after their advanced poſts were defeated. The bridge of Diedenhoffen was deſtroyed, while the Republicans took poſſeſſion of that of Conſtance, and purſued the rear-guard of Condé's, and the Bavarian troops, as far as Peterſhauſen. Conſtance was captured and recaptured no leſs than

three times in the courſe of one day, and, at laſt, remained in the poſſeſſion of the French. One half of Switzerland, all the Eaſtern part included between the Ruſs and the Rhine, from St. Gothard as far as Conſtance, formed the great theatre of action; and in the ſpace of 90 miles filled up with difficult poſitions, there was not one paſs which could be called practicable, that was not diſputed by pitched battles, and traverſed by troops having one and the ſame object in view.

When the Archduke received intelligence of the battle of Zurich, at his head-quarters on the middle Rhine, he abandoned the purſuit of Muller, and marched with the greater part of the troops, leaving a ſufficient force with Prince Schwartzemberg to cover that place and Philipſburg. The Prince held a council of war at Donaueſchingen on the 4th of October, and a few days afterwards the forces of Auſtria made their entrance into Upper Swabia and the frontiers of Switzerland. The Archduke gave orders to General Nauendorf to take a nearer poſition in Upper Swabia, and to obſerve the ſide of the Briſgaw. A part of Korſakow's army filed off towards his left, by the lake of Conſtance; and Suwarrow, after receiving a conſiderable part of the artillery which he had left behind him in Italy, took the route down the Rheinthal to Feldkirch, and met the Ruſſian generals at Lindau, four miles North-weſt of Bregentz. St. Gothard in the mean time was retaken by the French, who threatened to re-enter the Griſons, and capture the head-quarters at Coire. Thus, were all the brilliant triumphs of the Allies on the wane, and all the honours of the ancient Courts were, once more, ſacrificed to their narrow policy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Buonaparte's chagrin at the Reverſes of the French Army in Egypt.—He receives Intelligence from Europe of the Diſtractions in France.—He reſolves to abandon the Army.—He ſecretly leaves Egypt. The Addreſs he left behind him to the Army.—The Letter he left to be delivered to General Kleber.—The indignant Diſpatch of General Kleber to the Directory, announcing Buonaparte's abandon- of the Army of Egypt.—Eſtimate, by General Kleber, of the Debts owing by Buonaparte on Account of the Army when he quitted Egypt.

SEVEN long years had Europe now been ſpilling her beſt blood, without having advanced a ſingle ſtep towards her object, and without being able to deviſe any means by which peace could poſſibly be obtained. The Allies had coaleſced, but were by no means united, and the French were ultimately tranquil, though very far from ſettled. Peace was equally deſirable to both ſides, but the different cabinets ſeemed to be curſed by ſuch a ſpirit of blindneſs that neither of them could diſcern its true intereſt. Such was the perverſe ſtate of things whilſt our Hero was ſhut up in the gloom of diſappointment at Alexandria; and, though he could not foreſee exactly, whether peace or war would be moſt conducive to his intereſts, it was certain that neither his intereſts nor views would be promoted by the defeat of the French.

So perfectly agreed were all his friends upon this point, that no doubt was entertained at Paris, that, if he could but be made acquainted with the true ſtate of things, he would hazard much to return to the ſeat

of government, and would, in so doing, be able to recover the glory of France and add much to his own. The turn that the affairs of Egypt had taken deprived him of all further attachment to that crusade, and he was brooding over the disgrace and mortification that would follow his failure, when means were found of making known to him the events that had occured, and the wishes of his friends. A person of nice sensibility would have been greatly embarrassed upon such an occasion, and the idea of deserting his companions and followers, just at the moment when accumulating dangers rendered his assistance more than ever necessary, would have been regarded by some persons as an instance of baseness and cowardice too shocking to be practised. Not so, Buonaparté—he wanted an excuse to abandon his project, and he had found one; he collected a few of his most obsequious followers, and, clandestinely, quitted Egypt in their company, without giving the shortest notice of his design.

As soon as he had resolved to return to France, Buonaparté ordered Admiral Ganteaume to get ready for sea the two frigates that lay at Alexandria; General Menou was entrusted with the secret just time enough to apprise the persons who were to be of the party to hold themselves in readiness to attend the General, and, on the 23d of August, at one o'clock, says Denon, "we were told that Buonaparte waited in the road; an hour after we were at sea." At his departure the General left the following Address to the army:

BONAPARTE, *Commander in Chief, to the Army.*

Head Quarters, Alexandria, August 22d, 1799.

"IN consequence of the news from Europe, I have determined to return immediately to France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber; they shall hear from me speedily: this is all I can say to them at present. It grieves me to the heart to part from the brave men to whom I am so tenderly attached; but it will be only for an instant; and the general I leave at their head is in full possession of the confidence of the Government and of mine.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

"By order of the Commander in Chief, and of the General of Division, Chief of the Staff,

(Signed) ALEX. BERTHIER.

A true copy. (Signed) SONNET, Adjutant General.
A true copy. (Signed) LE ROY."

This Address was inclosed in a letter to General Kleber, to be read to the army after he was gone; and as the views of Buonaparté were more fully explained to his successor, we insert the Letter itself.

BONAPARTE, *Commander in Chief, to General* KLEBER.

Alexandria, August 23d, 1799.

"ANNEXED to this, Citizen General, you will find an order for you to take the command of the army. My constant apprehensions lest the English fleet shouldagain appear on the coast, compel me to hasten my voyage by two or three days.

"I take with me Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Andreossi, and Marmont; Citizen Monge, and Citizen Berthollet.

"Inclosed you will find the English and Francfort papers up to the 10th of June. You will see by them, that we have lost Italy: that Mantua, Turin, and Tortona, are in a state of blockade. I have some grounds to flatter myself,

that the first of these places will hold out to the end of November; and, I trust, if fortune smiles upon me, to be in Europe before the beginning of October.

"You will also find enclosed, a cypher, for your correspondence with the Government, and another, for your communications with me.

"I entreat you to dispatch Gimo some time in the month of October, together with the baggage which I have left at Cairo, and my domestics. I should, however, have no particular objection to your taking as many of them as may suit you into your own service.

"It is the present intention of Government that General Desaix should set out for Europe in November next, unless something of consequence should arise here to detain him.

"The Commission of the Arts shall return to France on board a flag of truce, which you will demand for this purpose, conformably to the late cartel, some time in the month of November, immediately after they have completed the object of their mission. They are at present engaged in putting a finishing hand to it, by an examination of Upper Egypt. Nevertheless, if you think that any of them will be of service to you, you may put them in requisition without scruple!

"The Effendi, who was made prisoner at Aboukir, is set out for Damietta. I have already written to you to send him to Cyprus: he takes with him a letter for the Grand Vizier, of which I enclose you a copy.

"The arrival of the Brest fleet at Toulon, and of the Cadiz fleet at Carthagena, leaves no kind of doubt of the possibility of transporting to Egypt [illegible] of pistols, balls, &c. of which you [illegible] I am provided with a very exact enumeration, [illegible] with a sufficient number of recruits to supply the [illegible] our two campaigns. Government itself, I presume, will, [illegible] that conveyance, acquaint you with its intentions: as for myself, both in my public and my private capacity, I pro-

mise to take every measure for enabling you to hear frequently from France.

"If, by a series of the most extraordinary events, none of these attempts should succeed, and you should neither receive reinforcements nor intelligence from France by May next; and if, this year, in spite of all your precautions, the plague should break out in Egypt, and carry off more than 1500 of the troops—a considerable loss in addition to that which the events of the war will daily occasion,—I think that you ought not then to venture upon another campaign, and that you are sufficiently justified in concluding a peace with the Ottoman Porte; even though the evacuation of Egypt should be the leading article. It will merely be necessary for you to postpone the execution of it (if such a thing be possible) till the period of a general peace.

"No one, Citizen General, has better means of judging of the importance of Egypt to France than yourself. The Turkish empire, menaced with ruin on every side, is crumbling to pieces at this moment; and the evacuation of Egypt on our part would be so much the more unfortunate, as we should be sure to see, ere long, this fine province fall into the hands of some other European powers.

"The intelligence of the good or ill fortune which may attend the Republic in Europe, will, of course, have its due influence in detetermining your future measures.

"If the Porte should reply to the overtures I have made for peace before my letters from France can reach you, it will be, in that case, necessary for you to declare, that you have all the powers with which I was entrusted."

"Enter then upon the negotiation; adhere strenuously and constantly to the assertion which I have advanced, that France never had the least idea of taking Egypt from the Grand Seignior.

"Require the Ottoman Porte to separate itself from the Coalition, to grant us the free commerce of the Black Sea,

to set at liberty all the French in confinement; and, lastly, to agree to a suspension of hostilities for six months, that there may be a sufficient time for the mutual exchange of ratifications.

"Supposing, however, that you should find yourself in such circumstances as you conceive make it necessary to conclude the treaty with the Porte; you must then make that power understand that you cannot execute your part of it before it be ratified at home; and that, according to the usual practice of all nations, the interval between the signing and ratifying of a treaty is always considered as a suspension of hostilities.

"You are acquainted, Citizen General, with my way of thinking respecting the interior policy of Egypt. Act in what manner you please the Christians will still be our friends; it will be necessary, however, to prevent them from growing too insolent, lest the Turks should conceive the same fanatic prejudice against us as against them, which would destroy every possibility of a reconciliation: this fanaticism must, at all events, be laid asleep, until we have an opportunity of extirpating it entirely. By gaining the good opinion of the principal Sheiks at Cairo we shall secure that of all Egypt; and, of all the chiefs which its inhabitants may rally under, there are none less to be apprehended by us than the Sheiks, who are all timorous, unacquainted with arms, and, like all other priests, know how to inspire the people with fanaticism, without being fanatic themselves.

"With respect to the fortifications, I consider Alexandria and El Arisch as the two keys of Egypt. I had once an idea of forming, during the approaching winter, several redoubts of palm-trees; two from Salehieh to Catieh, two from Catieh to El Arish: of these last, one was to be placed on the spot where General Menou discovered a spring of tolerable water.

"Brigadier-general Sanson, commander of the corps.

engineers, and Brigadier-general Sougis, commander of the artillery, will furnish you with the necessary details of their respective departments.

"Citizen Poussielgue has had the sole management of the finances; I have found him extremely active, and, in every respect, a person of merit; he begins to have some insight into the chaos of the administration of this country. It was my intention, if nothing occured to prevent me, to attempt this winter a new system of taxation, which would, by degrees, relieve us from our present dependance on the Copts: before you undertake it, however, I advise you to make it the subject of long and deliberate meditation; it is safer to begin an operation of this nature a little too late than a little too soon.

"Our ships of war will certainly make their appearance this winter, either at Alexandria, Brulos, or Damietta. You must have a battery and a signal-tower at Brulos. Endeavour to get together five or six hundred Mameloucs, in such a manner, that, when the French fleet arrives, you may be able to lay your hands upon them at the same instant of time, either at Cairo or in the other provinces, and send them off immediately for France*. If you cannot procure Mameloucs, such Arab hostages, Cheiks el Beled as may then be in custody, no matter on what account, will answer the end as well. These people, landed in France, and detained there for a year or two, will contemplate the grandeur of the nation; they will acquire, in some degree, our manners and our language, and when they return to Egypt, will prove to us so many partisans.

"I have already repeatedly written for a company of comedians; I will take particular care that they shall be sent.

"* It is impossible to conceive a scheme of blacker or more diabolical perfidy than Buonaparté here plans for Kleber. Five or six hundred innocent people, living without suspicion or fear, under the protection of the French, are to be torn from their country, their families, and friends, and hurried off to France, under a pretence equally absurd and iniquitous."

This appears to me an article of the utmoſt conſequence, not only for the army, but for the purpoſe of effecting ſomething like a change in the moral habits of the country.

"The important ſituation of Commander in Chief, which has now devolved upon you, will afford you ample opportunities of diſplaying thoſe talents with which nature has endowed you. The intereſt taken in everything which paſſes here is active and lively; and the conſequences reſulting from it will be immenſe, whether conſidered with reſpect to commerce or to civilization. This is, aſſuredly, the epoch from whence revolutions of the moſt extraordinary nature will take their date.

"Accuſtomed to look for the recompenſe of the toils and difficulties of life in the opinion of poſterity, I abandon Egypt with the deepeſt regret! The honour and intereſts of my country, duty, and the extraordinary events which have recently taken place there; theſe, and theſe alone, have determined me to hazard a paſſage to Europe, through the midſt of the enemy's ſquadrons: in heart and in ſpirit I ſhall ſtill be in the midſt of you. Your victories will be as dear to me as any in which I may be perſonally engaged; and I ſhall look upon that day of my life as ill employed in which I ſhall not do ſomething for the army of which I leave you the command; and for the conſolidation of the magnificent eſtabliſhment, the foundation of which is ſo recently laid.

"The army I entruſt to your care, is entirely compoſed of my own children. I have never ceaſed, even in the midſt of their moſt trying difficulties and dangers, to receive proofs of their attachment; endeavour to preſerve them ſtill in thoſe ſentiments for me. This is due to the particular eſteem and friendſhip I entertain for you, and to the unfeigned affection I feel for them!"

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

A true Copy. KLEBER.

Whatever reflections ariſe out of this Epiſtle, they ſeem to have been anticipated ſo ſenſibly by General

Kleber, that truth absolutely demands them to be given in his own words. That officer seems to have felt the greatest indignation that Buonaparté should have attempted to dupe him, and the French nation, by ascribing his departure to honourable motives. Kleber's Letter is addressed to the Directory, and is at once a curious piece of criticism upon that of Buonaparté, and an interesting picture of the state of Egypt at the time of his desertion.

LIBERTY! EQUALITY!

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

KLEBER, *Commander in Chief, to the* DIRECTORY.

Head Quarters, Cairo, October 7th, 1799.

"THE Commander in Chief, Buonaparté, quitted this country for France, on the morning of the 23d ult. without saying a word of his intention to any person whatever. He had appointed me to meet him at Rosetta on the subsequent day: (the 24th.) I found nothing there but his dispatches. Unable to divine whether the General has had the good fortune to reach Toulon, I think it incumbent on me to send you a copy of the Letter, by which he transferred to me the command of the army, as also of another, which he had addressed to the Grand Vizier at Constantinople, although he knew perfectly well that this officer was already arrived at Damascus.

"My first cares have been directed to obtain an accurate knowledge of the present condition of the army.

"You know, Citizen Directors, and you have it in your power to procure the requisite statements; you know, I say, the actual strength of the army at its arrival in Egypt: it is reduced a full half!—and we occupy all the capital points of the great triangle, from the Cataracts to El Arisch, from El Arisch to Alexandria, and from Alexandria again to the Cataracts; meanwhile, it is no longer a question, as it once was, of contending with a few hordes

of dispirited Mameloucs; but, of resisting and combating the united efforts of three great powers, the Porte, England, and Russia.

"The absolute want of arms, of gunpowder, of cannon, and musket-balls, presents a picture no less alarming than the prodigious and rapid diminution of our numbers. Our attempts to establish a foundry, have failed of success; and the manufactory of powder, which we set on foot at Ilhoda, has not, hitherto, kept pace, in any degree, with our expectations; in all probability it never will. Add to this, that the repairing of our small arms proceeds but slowly; and that, to give the necessary activity to these various undertakings, money and means, of which we have neither, are absolutely indispensible.

"The troops are naked, and this privation of clothing is the more calamitous, as it is perfectly ascertained, in this country, to be one of the most active causes of the dysenteries and ophthalmics which constantly prevail here. The first, in particular, has operated with an alarming effect this season, on bodies already weakened and exhausted by fatigue. The members of the Board of Health remark, (and never fail to mention it in their reports,) that, although the army is so much diminished, the number on the sick list is considerably larger this year than at the same period of the last.

"General Buonaparté, previous to his departure, had, it is true, given orders for new clothing the army: but, for this, as well as for a great many other projects, he contented himself with the mere orders:—the poverty of the finances, which is a new obstacle to be combated, reduced him, doubtless, to the necessity of adjourning the execution of this useful design.

"Now I have mentioned the finances, I feel it my duty to say somewhat more on the subject.

"General Buonaparté exhausted the extraordinary resources within a few months after our arrival! He levied at that time as extensive a military contribution as the

country could possibly support! To have recourse a second time to this expedient, now, that we are surrounded with enemies from without, would only pave the way for an insurrection the first favourable moment.

"Notwithstanding all this, Buonaparté, at quitting us, did not leave behind him a single sous in the military chest, nor anything capable of being turned into money! He left, on the contrary, a debt of near ten millions, more than a whole year's income in the present state of things: the pay of the army alone, is in arrear, full 4,000,000!

"The present state of the inundation makes it impossible to recover the deficiencies of the year just expired; and which, if it were not so, would scarce answer the expenses of a month: we cannot, therefore, enter again on the collection of the taxes till the end of November; and, even then, it is clear to me, that we shall not be in a condition to attend sufficiently to it, because we shall have our hands full of fighting. In a word, the Nile being very low this year, many provinces, deprived of the inundation, will claim the customary exemptions, to which we cannot, in common justice, object.

"Every syllable, Citizen Directors, which I here advance, I can authenticate, either by verbal processes, or by estimates of the different services, regularly signed.

"Although Egypt is, to all appearance, tranquil, it is nothing less than in a state of submission; the people are restless and uneasy; and, in spite of all we can do to the contrary, persist in looking upon us as the enemies of their property: their hearts are incessantly open to the hopes of a favourable change.

"The Mamelukes are dispersed, but not destroyed. [illegible] still in Upper Egypt with a body of men, [illegible] numerous to find constant employment for a [illegible] part of our forces. If we should quit him [illegible] instant his little army would increase with inconceivable rapidity; and he would descend the Nile, and harass us at the gates of this capital; where, in spite of

the moſt vigilant attention, they have conſtantly found means, to this very hour, to procure him ſupplies of arms and money.

"Ibrahim Bey is at Gaza, with about two thouſand Mamelukes; and I am informed that 30,000 men, part of the army of the Grand Vizier and Dgezzar Paſha, are alſo arrived at the ſame place. The Grand Vizier left Damaſcus about three weeks ago; he is at preſent encamped near Acre: finally, the Engliſh are maſters of the Red Sea.

"Such, Citizen Directors, is the ſituation in which General Buonaparté has left me to ſuſtain the enormous burden of commanding the army of the Eaſt! He ſaw the fatal criſis approaching; your orders have not permitted him to ſurmount it. That ſuch a criſis exiſts, his letters, his inſtructions, his negotiation, lately ſet on foot, all contribute to evince; it is of public notoriety, and our enemies appear to me no leſs perfectly informed of it than ourſelves.

'If this year,' ſays General Buonaparté, 'in ſpite of all my precautions, the plague ſhould break out in Egypt, and carry off more than fifteen hundred men, &c. I then think that you ought not to venture upon another campaign, and that you are ſufficiently juſtified in concluding a peace with the Ottoman Porte, even though the evacuation of Egypt ſhould be the leading article,' &c.

"I have pointed out this paſſage to you, Citizen Directors, becauſe, it is characteriſtic in more than one point of view; and, above all, becauſe it clearly ſhows you the real ſituation in which I am placed. Of what conſequence are 1,500 men, more or leſs, in the immenſe ſpace of country which I have to defend, and againſt an eternal repetition of attacks?

"The General further ſays, 'Alexandria and El Arifch, are the two keys of Egypt.' El Arifch [illegible] fortreſs, four days journey in the Deſart; the pro[illegible] difficulty of victualling it will not allow of its be[illegible] by more than 250 men. Six hundred M[illegible]

might, whenever they pleafed, cut off all communication with Catiez; and as, when Buonaparté left us, this garrifon had but a fortnight's provifion in advance; juft that fpace of time, and no more, would be fufficient to compel it to capitulate, without firing a fhot! The Arabs alone were capable of furnifhing regular convoys of provifions through thefe burning defarts; but, they have been fo often over-reached and defrauded, that, far from offering us their fervices, they now keep aloof and conceal themfelves; befides, the arrival of the Grand Vizier, who inflames their fanaticifm, and overwhelms them with prefents, will equally tend to incline them to defert us.

"Alexandria is by no means a fortrefs; it is a large intrenched camp. It was, indeed, tolerably well defended by a numerous heavy artillery; but, fince we loft it in the difaftrous invafion of Syria, and fince General Buonaparté has taken all the cannon belonging to the fhipping, to complete the equipment of the two frigates with which he failed for France, this camp can make, in fact, but a feeble refiftance.

"General Buonaparté deceived himfelf with regard to the confequences which he expected from his victory at Aboukir. He cut to pieces, it is true, near nine thoufand Turks who had landed there; but, what is fuch a lofs as this to a great nation, from whom we have violently torn the fairefl portion of its empire; and whom religion, honour, and intereft, equally ftimulate to avenge its injuries, and to re-conquer what it has been thus deprived of? As a proof of what I fay, this victory has not retarded, for a fingle inftant, either the preparations, or the march of the Grand Vizier.

"In this ftate of things, what can, and what ought I to do? I think, Citizen Directors, that I fhould continue the negotiations entered upon by Buonaparté; though the refult fhould be merely the gaining a little time, I fhould even then have fufficient reafon to be fatisfied with it. I have inclofed you the Letter which, in confequence of this determination, I wrote to the Grand Vizier; fending

him, at the ſame time, a duplicate of that from Bonaparté.

"If this miniſter meets my advances I ſhall propoſe to him the reſtitution of Egypt, on the following conditions:

'"The Grand Seignior ſhall appoint a Paſha, as before.

'"The Beys ſhall give up to him the Miri, which the Porte has had always *de jure*, and never *de facto*.

'"Commerce ſhall be reciprocally open between Egypt and Syria.

'"The French ſhall continue in the country, occupy the ſtrong holds and the forts, and collect all the duties and cuſtoms till the French Government ſhall have made peace with England.

"If theſe ſummary preliminaries are accepted, I ſhall think I have rendered my country a greater ſervice than if I had obtained the moſt brilliant victory. But I fear they will not be attended to: if the haughtineſs of the Turks oppoſes no obſtacle, I ſhall ſtill have to combat the influence of Engliſh gold. Happen what may, I will endeavour to direct myſelf by circumſtances.

"I know all the importance of the poſſeſſion of Egypt. I uſed to ſay in Europe, that this country was for France the point of fixture, by means of which ſhe might move, at will, the commercial ſyſtem of every quarter of the globe; but, to do this effectually, a powerful lever is required, and that lever is a navy: ours has exiſted! Since that period, every thing has changed; and peace with the Porte is, in my opinion, the only expedient that holds out to us a method of fairly getting rid of an enterpriſe no longer capable of attaining the object for which it was undertaken.

"I ſhall not enter, Citizen Directors, into the details of all the diplomatic combinations which the preſent ſtate of Europe might furniſh: this is not my province. In the forlorn ſituation in which I ſtand, and ſo far removed from

the centre of action, I can ſcarce give a thought to anything but the ſafety and honour of the army which I command: happy if, in the midſt of my diſtreſſes, I ſhould have the good fortune to meet your wiſhes; at a leſs diſtance from you, I ſhould place all my glory in obedience.

"I have annexed to this, an exact eſtimate of the more material articles of which we ſtand in need for the ſervice of the artillery; and, alſo a ſummary recapitulation of the debt contracted, and left unpaid by General Bonaparté.

Health and reſpect. KLEBER."

"P. S. At this inſtant, Citizen Directors, juſt as I am making up my diſpatches, I learn that fourteen or fifteen Turkiſh veſſels are at anchor before Damietta, where they are waiting for the fleet of the Captain Paſha, now at Joppa, and having on board, as I am told, from fifteen to twenty thouſand land forces; beſides theſe, there are ſtill fifteen thouſand men at Gaza, and the Grand Vizier is marching from Damaſcus. A few days ſince, he ſent us back a ſoldier of the 25th demi-brigade, who had been made priſoner in the neighbourhood of El Ariſch; after having ſhowed him all his camp, he deſired him to acquaint his comrades with what he had ſeen, and to tell their commander to tremble. This ſeems to announce either the confidence which the Grand Vizier has in his forces, or a wiſh to enter upon an accommodation. With reſpect to myſelf, it will be abſolutely impoſſible for me to get together more than 5,000 men, capable of taking the field againſt him: notwithſtanding this, I will try my fortune, if I do not ſucceed in gaining time by my negotiations. Dgezzar has withdrawn his forces from Gaza, and marched them back to Acre."

The ſchedule of the military wants of the army it would be unneceſſary to copy here, as it is admitted by Buonaparté in his letter; but, the eſtimate of the

debts owing by him when he fled, is so far important, as it proves that he neither kept faith with the people whom he invaded, nor the army whom he led to invade them.

ARMY OF THE EAST. FRENCH REPUBLIC.

ESTIMATE

Of the different Sums due on the 23d of August 1799, the Period at which GENERAL KLEBER *received the Command of the Army.*

	Livres.	Sums due.	
Pay of the army	4,015,000	0	0
Extraordinaries	576,000	0	0
Difference of pay between the law of the 2d Thermidor, in the year 2, and that of the 23d Floreal, in the year 5, due to part of the army	802,332	6	2
Artillery	91,214	0	0
Engineers			
Marine, military, and merchant service, by a rough calculation	3,962,124	0	6
Military subsistence	1,198,973	10	0
Clothing	144,381	10	10
Military hospitals	311,277	15	4
Military convoys	177,098	4	0
Military posts	5,432	12	2
To the inspector of the saddle manufactory	12,601	0	0
To the inspector of the boot manufactory	6,000	0	0
To the commissaries at Suez	7,014	6	0
To certain French, Turks, and Greeks, who have furnished provisions at Alexandria, and elsewhere	41,980	7	0
To Citizen Rosetty for provisions for the army, when on its march to Rhamanie	3,222	12	8
Total	11,315,252	10	2

OBSERVATIONS.

"Since the army quitted France, the expenditure has exceeded the receipts by 11,315,252 livres, 10 sous, 2 deniers—this debt, then must inevitably continue increasing. At our first arrival here, requisitions were made in all the towns for the immediate subsistence of the troops. These have never been paid for.

"Extraordinary contributions were levied upon the merchants, tradesmen, &c.

"The effects of the Mamelukes were also seized on our arrival; their wives have been made to pay an extraordinary imposition.

"The receipts of the last year were greater than those of the present can possibly be. The inundation has failed, and many villages have been deprived of water.

"The debt above stated does not include what is due to the provinces for the supplies in kind, with which the troops were furnished during their march.

"It is evident, from these observations, that, as long as the army of Egypt is engaged in hostilities, there can be no foreign trade; nor can the receipts be possibly made to answer the expenses. It is peace alone which can place the receipts on a satisfactory footing.

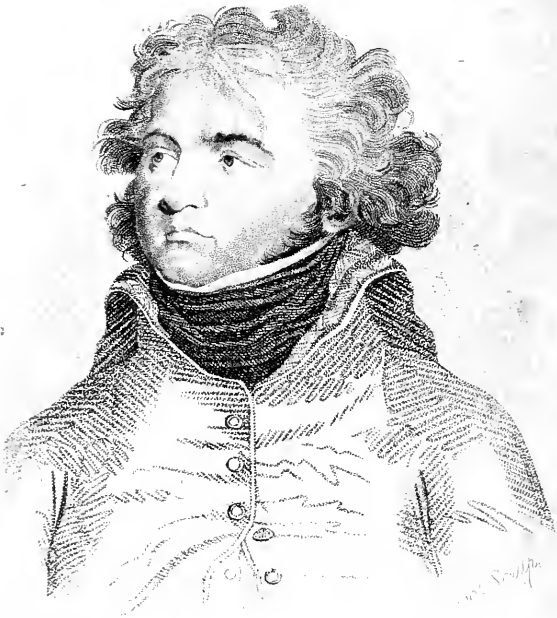
Certified by me,

E. POUSSIELGUE, Commissary-general, &c.

to be conformable to the respective lists delivered to me at Cairo, Oct. 7, 1799.

Examined by the Commander in Chief,

(Signed) KLEBER.



General Kléber.

CHAPTER XIX.

General Kleber addresses an animating Proclamation to the Army.—Citizen Poussielgue Administrator-general of the Finances of Egypt's, interesting Account of the State of Egypt, and of the French Army and Finances.—A Treaty signed between Sir Sidney Smith and General Kleber, for the Evacuation of Egypt by the French Army.

FEELING, as Kleber did upon this occasion, he would hardly have been subject to censure if he had openly declaired his opinions to the army, and denounced Buonaparté a traitor; but like a true soldier, he chose to consult the orders he had received rather than his own feelings, and left his statements to be justified by events rather than forwarded by his own manoeuvres. The following Address, delivered while he was yet smarting from the recent perfidy of Buonaparté, may be recommended, as a model of generosity, manliness, and true military honour.

KLEBER *Commander in Chief, to the Army.*

Head Quarters, Cairo, August 31, 1799.

"SOLDIERS!

"MOTIVES, of the most imperious nature, have determined the Commander in Chief, Buonaparté, to return to France.

"The dangers incident to a voyage undertaken in no very favourable part of the year, on a narrow sea, covered with the enemies' fleets, were too feeble to arrest him. Your happiness was at stake!

"Soldiers! a powerful reinforcement, or a glorious peace, is at hand: a peace worthy of you and of your achievements, is on the point of restoring you to your country.

"In taking upon myſelf the charge with which Buonaparté was intruſted, I was neither unaware of its importance, nor of the toil and danger attending it; but, on the other hand, when I conſidered your gallantry, ſo often crowned with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs; your unwearied patience in braving every calamity, and ſupporting every privation; when I conſidered, in ſhort, all that might be done or attempted with ſuch ſoldiers, I loſt ſight of everything but the advantage of being at your head, and the honour of commanding you; and I felt myſelf inſpired with new vigour.

"Soldiers! rely upon what I ſay; your urgent wants ſhall be the never-ceaſing obect of my moſt earneſt ſolicitude."

(Signed) KLEBER.

"By order of the Commander in Chief, the General of Diviſion, and Chief of the Staff."

(Signed) DAMAS.

A true copy. (Signed) DUMAS, Adjutant-general.
A true copy. LE ROY.

By the letters of General Kleber, it appears, that that officer opened a negotiation with the Grand Vizier, upon the baſis of Buonaparté's Letter, which it is unneceſſary to inſert here, as it was merely a repetition of thoſe profeſſions of friendſhip for the Porte, and of thoſe attempts to obtain its acquieſcence in the violation of Egypt, which he had before ſpeculated upon. The extenſive preparations that the Turks were, in the interim, making to attack the army at all points, occupied ſo much time, that the French officers had ſufficient leiſure to take an accurate and extenſive ſurvey of their ſituation in Egypt. Not one of the officers, whoſe private letters have been publiſhed, expreſſed themſelves ſatisfied with the conduct of Buonaparté; and, in general, they evince

a ſtrong ſuſpicion of its being his deſign to impoſe at once upon the Government and the army. Of the officers alluded to, it is to be obſerved, that none were perſonally the enemies of our Hero, and that they had all been attached to him by perſonal reſpect at the time of his quitting France; the teſtimony of any one of thoſe officers ought, therefore, to be taken as fair evidence in the concerns of Egypt, though it might not be favourable to Buonaparté; but as the occupation of that Colony eſſentially forms the moſt conſpicuous feature in his Life, it is deſirable that every particular relative to it ſhould be collected from the moſt authentic ſource; we ſhall, therefore, inſert a Letter of Citizen Pouſſielgue, who poſſeſſed the confidence of the General himſelf, (ſee page 258) and which Letter contains the beſt account of Egypt that has been written.

LIBERTY! EQUALITY!

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

E. POUSSIELGUE, *Comptroller of the Expenſes of the Army, and Adminiſtrator-general of the Finances of Egypt, to the* EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

Cairo, September 22, 1799.

CITIZENS DIRECTORS,

"I HAVE been, excluſively, charged, ſince the arrival of the army in Eypt, with the adminiſtration of the finances, and of the other departments connected with the political economy of this country.

"I conceive I owe you, after the departure of General Buonaparté, and in the critical ſituation in which he left us, a conciſe, but faithful, repreſentation of the obſervations which I have collected, and the political opinions which naturally flow from them.

"Travellers, and even the agents of the French Government, who have been in Egypt, have ſo cordially

agreed in the exaggerated ideas which they have diffeminated respecting the natural riches and the treasures which this country contains, that a residence of fifteen months, with multiplied researches, and experiments, by a great number of enlightened men, have not yet totally effaced the false impressions they had given.

"The ordinary revenues, including the customs, were estimated from 49 to 50,000,000; some have even carried them as far as 60,000,000.

"They can only be reckoned, in time of peace, at 19,000,000; a system of commerce well managed, and well protected, might raise them to 20,000,000.

"In time of war (such as that we have been incessantly engaged) the revenues do not, by any means, exceed 12 or 13,000,000.

"Abundance in Egypt depends, first, on a good Nile, and, secondly, on the distrubition of the water: every year the canals must be cleaned out, the dikes repaired, and care taken that none of them be cut sooner or later than the common interest appears to require.

"The distribution and the maintenance of the canals are very far from being carried here to that degree of utility which one would expect to find in a country, whose fertility entirely depends on the observation of these two circumstances.

"Even when the Nile is good a great quantity of land remains uncultivated, for want of order in cutting the dikes: but when the Nile is bad, or middling, the loss is ten times greater than it ought to be; because, all the villages being equally afraid of wanting water, those who border on the river hasten, before the proper time, to cut the dikes; which is never done without a contest with the villages interested in opposing it: and by this inconsiderate method of proceeding, a great part, of the water, already so scarce, is lost, without procuring the least advantage.

"But, however productive the harvests may be, they

cannot, under the prefent fyftem, increafe the revenues of the Government, although it be itfelf proprietor of two-thirds of the lands of Egypt; while, on the other hand, a bad Nile diminifhes them confiderably.

"The Egyptian fyftem of finance is entirely feudal.

"The peafant ploughs and fows for his own advantage, in confideration of a fixed rent, which he pays in money, or in kind, to the proprietor.

"This rent may be divided into three diftinct heads:

"The Miri: this is a kind of ground-rent due to the Grand Seignior; the proprietor receives and pays it in to the Effendi appointed to collect it.

"This Mira, impofed on the lands, amounts to 3,000,000 livres, according to all the rent-rolls which fell into my hands.

"The fecond kind of rent is called Fais: it is the quit-rent, or net income, originally appropriated to the proprietor: it amounts, like the former, for all the lands, thofe of Government included, to 3,000,000.

"The third kind is called Barani, or Moudaf; it is compofed, firft, of an over-charge of income, laid on by the proprietor by way of fupplement to the Fais. Secondly, of extraordinary requifitions of every kind, made on the village, either of money or of produce. Thirdly, of expenfes caufed by the paffage of the troops, or by the vifits of the proprietor. Fourthly, of all the official charges of the village and the province, pious foundations, &c. &c. Thefe united, produce, from all the landed property of Egypt, 6,400,000.

"Befides this, there is a fum of 1,300,000 arifing from the duties which the Cachefs ufed to collect for their own advantage in the provinces which they governed.

"Thus it appears, that the fum total of the revenues in fpecie which are raifed from the cultivators of the lands of Egypt (exclufive of the immenfe peculations of the Copts who collect them) amounts pretty nearly to 14,000,000.

"From these must be deducted 3,200,000 livres, for the *fais* and the *baranis* of the lands which do not appertain to the Government, and which are estimated at a third of Egypt: there will then remain to the Government 10,800,000.

"It is not possible to obtain more than this without making advances, or exactions.

"To this revenue must be added the *fais* and *barani* which is paid in kind. This only takes place in the provinces in Upper Egypt.

"This is estimated at 1,800,000 quintals of all kinds of grain, for that portion which belongs to the Government: taking the whole as equivalent to 1,000,000 quintals of good wheat, at 3 livres 10 sols each, it will amount to 3,500,000 livres.

"From this must be deducted 850,000 for the expenses of collecting and carrying, which amount to seventeen sols for every quintal delivered at Cairo: there remain then 2,650,000 livres.

"In time of peace the produce of the customs and of the other indirect duties is usually stated at about 5,000,000.

"The Mint produces 750,000.

"From this it appears, that the revenues of the Government in time of peace will be 19,2000,000 livres; but in the state of war, in which we are, customs and indirect revenues do not produce more than 1,5000,000.

"The grain of Upper Egypt, which is not sold on the spot, and which we have not sufficient means to bring down the country, will not produce more than a million.

"The discharges that must be given to the villages for the lands not watered will amount to more than 1,500,000.

"There must be deducted a number of charges and pensions granted to the country, and which we have been obliged to continue; the expenses of the caravan to Mecca, which were partly supplied by us last year, and which must be wholly so this; the expenses of the Divans of the

provinces, and of the Janissaries of the country: all these will take off nearly 3,000,000.

"It is not possible, then, to take the revenues appropriated to the army at more than 9 or 10,000,000; of this sum there only remains about 2,000,000 to be obtained from this period to the 20th of December next.

"General Buonaparté levied in the first months of our arrival on the different nations, and on the merchants, about 4,000,000 livres of extraordinary contributions. He also laid a duty of two-fifths of a year's revenue on the landed property of individuals, which brought in about 1,200,000.

"These expedients are worn out. No more extraordinary contributions can be looked for in a country where all trade has been at an end for nineteen months. The money of the Christians is exhausted; we cannot ask the Turks for any without occasioning a revolt, and, besides, we should, in no case, obtain it. The money is hid; and the Turks, still more than the Christians, suffer themselves to be imprisoned, to be beaten in the most cruel manner; nay, some of them even suffered their heads to be cut off, rather than discover where they had concealed their treasures!

"The collection of the revenue begins in November for the rice-grounds; in January for the land appropriated to wheat, and other articles which pay in money; and in June for those which pay in kind.

"The peasantry are still more tenacious of their money than the inhabitants of the towns; they never pay but when they are absolutely forced to it, and even then sous by sous: their money is hid, their produce and their other property buried in the ground; they know they must pay at last, and that by doing it voluntarily, and at the regular periods, they might save themselves from those violent measures which always cost them double, or ruin them. They prefer waiting for a column of troops; if they see them coming, they immediately flee with their wives, their children, and their cattle; and the soldiers find nothing at their arrival but a number of empty villages. If they fancy themselves

ſtrong enough to reſiſt, they give battle, and call in the neighbouring villages, and even the Arabs, to their aſſiſtance. They have always ſcouts abroad to give them timely notice of the approach of the troops.

"Sometimes it is poſſible to ſeize the chiefs of the village: they are thrown into priſon, and kept there till the village has diſcharged what is due: this expedient is tedious, and does not always ſucceed. If we are fortunate enough to carry off their camels, buffaloes, and ſheep, they ſuffer them to be ſold, inſtead of attempting to recover them by paying their debt, and expoſe themſelves to the hazard of dying with hunger, leaving their lands uncultivated for the ſucceeding year!

"It is, therefore, abſolutely neceſſary to maintain perpetually, in each of the 16 provinces of Egypt, a column of 80 or 100 men, whoſe ſole employment is to force the villagers to pay their taxes: very frequently, after a long and laborious round, the ſoldiers return with a mere trifle.

"It is eaſy to conjecture all the evils, the exactions, the havoc, the waſte, and the confuſion, which commonly attend theſe rounds, and which the ſevereſt diſcipline can neither prevent nor remedy.

"An inconvenience, of a very ſerious nature, ariſes, to prevent the collecting of the taxes during the eight months in which the country is not inundated; it is the period when the Arabs undertake their predatory incurſions, when landings are made on the coaſts, and when we are threatened with attacks from every quarter. It then becomes neceſſary for us to be continually fighting: and a column of troops has ſcarce begun to move forward before it is compelled to fall back, in order to puniſh the revolted villages, or to expel the Mamelukes and the Arabs.

"The collection of grain is ſtill more difficult. Like the tax on ſpecie, it is abſolutely neceſſary to compel the villages, *at the point of the bayonet*, to pay what is due; it muſt then be taken to the magazines on the banks of the Nile, embarked in boats, and ſent down the river to Cairo.

"When the two first difficulties are overcome, the third, more difficult than either, still remains, on account of the small number of boats which can be found for these convoys, and the short time they can be used, which is only during the four months in which the Nile is navigable. Since our arrival a prodigious number of boats have been cut up and burnt, for want of other fuel; these neither have, nor can, by any possible means, be replaced; a part of what is left is constantly employed in following the movements of the troops who are in pursuit of Murad Bey.

"Last year we were obliged to purchase for ready money at Cairo, notwithstanding the scarcity of specie, corn for the subsistence of the army, to the amount of more than 300,000 livres, though we had at that very time several millions worth in Upper Egypt.

"This year the boats have been exclusively employed in bringing down the Government stores: the consequence of this has been an inconvenience of another kind; the city of Cairo is in want of bread, and the uneasiness of the people on the occasion has already produced some degree of fermentation.

"In despite of all these disagreeable circumstances, there was last year some specie in the country; some had been brought in by the commerce of the preceding year; and yet, when Buonaparté left us, there were more than 10,000,000 still due to the army, of which the mere pay of the troops amounted to 4,000,000.

"At present the specie has entirely disappeared; nothing is now to be seen but medins, (a copper coin of nearly the value of an English halfpenny) which circulate from hand to hand with inconceivable rapidity.

"This coin bears but little more than a third of the intrinsic value of the other coins. Before the war, Spanish dollars were brought here in abundance, and the medins carried away: at present the dollars are all taken off by the coffee trade with Yemen, where they are sent to the mine.

and melted down; ſo that, like the gold coin, they become more valuable as they become more ſcarce and the medins more plentiful. The conſequence of this is, a riſe in the price of every article, and a number of obſtacles in the circulation of caſh.

"The preſent ſuperabundance of all the mercantile productions of Egypt, ariſing from the total ceſſation of foreign trade, is a circumſtance ſtill more diſagreeable: it will complete the ruin of this country; for the villages being obliged to pay us always the ſame ſums, and unable either to export or to find a market for their produce at home, will ſpeedily ſee their inhabitants reduced to the laſt ſtage of miſery; while the army, which had ſo much difficulty to procure money, while there was yet ſome in the country, will, ſhortly, be deprived of it altogether.

"The military cheſt is always empty; and, for a conſiderable period to come, we have not the moſt diſtant proſpect of receiving more than 2 or 300,000 livres a month, while the ordinary expenſes amount to more than 1,300,000 for the ſame ſpace of time.

"The natives of this country, notwithſtanding their frequent inſurrections, may be conſidered as a mild and tractable people; but they cannot be truſted; they, are beſides, very far from loving us, although they have been treated with more kindneſs than was ever yet ſhown to any conquered people* !

"The difference of manners, that extremely important one of language, and, above all, their religion, form obſtacles of the moſt inſuperable nature to everything like a ſincere affection.

* Theſe tractable Egyptians muſt ſurely be the moſt perverſe mules that ever exiſted! To revolt againſt the French, who uſed them more kindly than any conquered people was ever uſed; who only "cut their heads off," to obtain their money, and "point their bayonets at their breaſts," to make them give up everything elſe, argues a degree of ingratitude equal to the inſenſibility they all ſhow in not loving ſuch exquiſite benefactors! and of which Pouſſielgue ſo feelingly complains.

" They hate the government of the Mamelukes; they dread the yoke of Conſtantinople; but they will never be brought to endure ours, but in the hope of, ultimately, ſhaking it off. The only favour they might be diſpoſed to grant, is, to allow us the preference of all the nations which they call Chriſtians.

" We have here, on every ſide of us, ten thouſand ſecret enemies to one open friend.

" We had ſucceeded in maintaining a good intelligence with the Cherif of Mecca; and the letters which he wrote to Buonaparté and myſelf had quieted, for an inſtant, the conſciences of the muſſulmen in this country: but we conjecture, from ſome ſpies, which he has ſent to Cairo ſince the arrival of the Grand Vizier at Damaſcus, that he has changed his opinion, and, in conſequence of the inſinuations of the Engliſh, who have a force in the Red Sea, gone over to our enemies.

" We had 41,000 effective men at our arrival in Egypt. There were then only Mamelukes and Arabs to fight; and yet theſe conſtantly and excluſively occupied the whole attention of the army to the end of January.

" At preſent the Mamelukes, though diſperſed, are notwithſtanding, almoſt all in exiſtence; and may, whenever the attention of the army ſhall be otherwiſe occupied, reunite with the utmoſt promptitude: they have only loſt four or five inferior chiefs; the principal ones, who remain, are ſtill powerful, and have a conſiderable degree of intereſt.

" The Arabs are not at all diminiſhed; they hate us as much as they did at our arrival; and their wandering kind of life renders us no objects of apprehenſion to them.

" When we firſt landed, the Egyptians believed, as we told them, that it was with the conſent of the Grand Seignior, and they ſubmitted with more docility: at preſent they are perfectly convinced of the contrary. Thoſe who appear to be in our intereſt conceive themſelves authorized by our lie, to betray us; they will certainly do it on the

firſt occaſion; and their hearts were bounding with joy when the landing took place at Aboukir, in Auguſt laſt.

"But, when to theſe numerous armies, in the midſt of whom we live, are added thoſe from without; when the Grand Vizier, with the principal officers of the Ottoman Court, is aſſembling all the forces of the Empire to attack us, in different points at once, by land and ſea, aſſiſted too by England and Ruſſia; when he calls upon all the people of this country to riſe againſt us; and, finally, when the few Arabs, whom he had attached to us, leave us, to go over to him; it is not difficult to diſcover that our ſituation is deſperate.

"The enemy looſes an army, he raiſes another inſtantly. He was beaten at Mount Tabor, two months after he was beaten at Aboukir; the ſame period is elapſed, and he is again ready to be beaten at Salahieh! But every victory carries off ſome of our beſt troops, and their loſs cannot be repaired. A defeat would annihilate us all to the laſt man; and, however brave the army may be, it cannot long avert that fatal event.

"The war has deprived us of a number of excellent officers; ſuch as General Caffarelli, General Dommartin, General Bon, General Rambault, and General Dupuis; it has alſo deprived us of almoſt the whole corps of engineers, and of a very conſiderable part of the chiefs of brigade, both of infantry and cavalry. Several able generals have left us, and Buonaparté has taken five with him.

"The army, without clothes, and, above all, without arms, and without ſtores of any kind, reduced to leſs than two-thirds of its original numbers, has now no more than 11,000 men capable of taking the field, although about 13 or 14,000 appear under arms; this is owing to the appearance of a great number of ſoldiers at the roll-call, who prefer, ſick and wounded as they are, doing duty at their quarters to ſtaying in the hoſpitals or in the depôts. When they are wanted to march a little farther than uſual, or to fight,

the force they have put upon themſelves inſtantly appears. Wounds, ophthalmies, dyſenteries, and other diſeaſes, not leſs common here, have abſolutely diſabled the reſt of the army.

"Even thoſe who are in a condition to march are exhauſted by fatigue, enfeebled by the climate, and the wounds and ſickneſſes which they have endured, and their courage is proportionably diminiſhed.

"With this handful of men we have to cover five hundred leagues of country; overawe three millions of inhabitants, who may be reckoned as ſo many enemies; and garriſon the holds of and fortreſſes of Alexandria, Roſetta, Rahmanie, Gizeh, Beniſuef, Medine, Miniet, Siout, Girgé, Kené, Coſſeir, Cairo, Suez, Mitt Kainar, Salahieh, El Ariſch, Bilbeis, Catieh, Damietta, Manſora, Semenoud, and El Benouf. Should the Grand Vizier attack us, we cannot oppoſe more than five or ſix thouſand men to all the Ottoman forces, which will be at his diſpoſal; and, ſhould he attack us in two places at once, he will penetrate into the country without a poſſibility on our ſide of preventing him: this would certainly have happened to General Buonaparté, if the Turks, while they were landing at Aboukir, had made the Syrian army advance upon Egypt.

"In three months we ſhall be obliged to encounter, a ſecond time, that deſtructive malady the Plague, which may make dreadful havoc amongſt us: this horrible proſpect diſmays the ſtouteſt hearts.

"To put the finiſhing hand to our miſfortunes, the Nile of this year has been extremely bad, having flowed off ſuddenly, and before the lands could be inundated in due ſucceſſion; we ſhall not be able to draw any contribution from the villages which have not received their water, and we are threatened with the moſt frightful miſery!

"There is not a ſoldier, not an officer, not a general, who does not moſt earneſtly long to return to France; perſuaded, as they all are, that they are all ſacrificing here, without any advantage to their country, their health and their lives.

"However, from the present situation of things in France, and considering that for more than 15 months it has not been possible to send us any assistance, it is clear that we must forego the hope of having it, in any time to do us service, especially as the favourable season has now been suffered to pass by.

"The army saw with pleasure General Kleber at their head after the departure of General Buonapartê; no one is more capable of inspiring them with confidence and esteem.

"But he is full of honour and of noble pride; and the more sensible he is of the difficulty of the task thus left him, the more fearful he will be of listening to sentiments imperiously dictated by circumstances, and the immediate interest of the army, but which might, some time hence, be attributed, perhaps, to timidity.

"Not having the same responsibility on me, I am not afraid, Citizens Directors, to lay before you the naked truth; and be assured, that, however strong the representation I have just made, you would find it but feeble and imperfect, if the limits of a letter would allow me to enter into greater details.

"Egypt is a very fine country, our dreadful situation in it is merely the effect of circumstances: it proves only that we are arrived too soon, and that the time is not yet come for us to establish ourselves.

"There is not a doubt, but, that, if we were peaceable masters of Egypt, we might in a few years entirely remove a great part of the evils which infest and desolate it, such as the Plague and the Arabs; and give to agriculture and commerce a new activity, which should restore this country to its ancient splendor. This would render it one of the finest colonies in the world, which would speedily become the centre of universal commerce.

"But Egypt is bounded by two seas (the Red Sea and the Mediterranean) and by desarts.

"It is necessary to have a powerful marine to be in a

condition of approaching it at pleasure; and, above all, to be enabled to protect its commerce, and insure all the advantages which it holds out.

"The French Republic is at present without a navy: it will be yet a long time before it can have created one capable of contending with that of our enemies.

"To pretend to preserve Egypt without having any means of sending thither, and of assuring the safety of our convoys of every kind, is merely to expose ourselves to the hazard of being compelled to abandon it to Russia or England, who, under the pretext of driving us from it, will establish themselves there, and very soon take effectual measures to exclude us from it for ever.

"We might, indeed, still maintain ourselves there if we had the permission of the Porte; but if it was not thought possible to obtain it before our invasion, it must be still less so now, when the Porte lies at the mercy of the Russians and English: and even were she, contrary to all appearances, disposed, from political considerations, to suffer us to occupy Egypt, provisionally, the English would never be induced to permit it.

"When the expedition to Egypt took place we were at peace on the Continent; we had still a considerable fragment of our naval force in the Mediterranean; and we were in possession of the whole of Italy, Corfu, and Malta; a hope, too might have been indulged that we should obtain the consent of the Porte, at least tacitly; and thus we should have gained the end we proposed against the English; for it is my opinion, with that of all the world, that our proper view was, by alarming them for the safety of their Indian possessions, to force them into a peace advantageous for the Republic, by making the evacuation of Egypt an object of compensation for the restitutions which we should, in that case, have required.

"But the fatal engagement of Aboukir ruined all our hopes: it prevented us from receiving the remainder of the forces which were destined for us; it left the field free

for the Engliſh to perſuade the Porte to declare war againſt us; it rekindled that which was hardly extinguiſhed with the Emperor of Germany; it opened the Mediterranean to the Ruſſians, and planted them on our frontiers; it occaſioned the loſs of Italy, and the invaluable poſſeſſions in the Adriatic, which we owed to the ſucceſsful campaigns of Buonaparté; and, finally, it at once rendered abortive all our projects, ſince it was no longer poſſible for us to dream of giving the Engliſh any uneaſineſs in India: add to this, that the people of Egypt, whom we wiſhed to conſider as friends and allies, inſtantaneouſly became our enemies; and, entirely ſurrounded as we were by the Turks, we found ourſelves engaged in a moſt difficult defenſive war, without a glimpſe of the ſlighteſt future advantage to be derived from it.

"At preſent, we can no longer flatter ourſelves that the Engliſh will be prevailed on to agree to any equivalent in the articles of peace for the evacuation of Egypt. For, in the firſt place, they know perfectly well the degree of weakneſs and want to which we are reduced, and which renders it impoſſible to undertake anything againſt them: and in the ſecond, that, even if we ſhould receive ſuccours (which they will uſe every means in their power to prevent) we ſhould not, on that account, be a jot farther advanced while we have the Turks to contend with; and while they are aſſured that the Porte will not make peace without their conſent, or without ſtipulating that the preliminary article for terminating the war ſhall be the evacuation of Egypt.

"Under this point of view our plan has totally failed, in as much as it can no longer affect the Engliſh; and thus, neither as a conqueſt nor a colony, can there be any farther pretence for keeping poſſeſſion of Egypt.

"But there is yet another conſideration; it is, that if we delay entering into a treaty (ſuch is the ſtate of weakneſs to which we are already reduced) there is reaſon to fear that we ſhall be too late; that the remainder of the army

will perish, or that we shall be obliged to evacuate the country without any conditions at all: while, on the contrary, we have it at present in our power to make it the price of peace with the Ottoman Empire and the Barbary States, the strengthening our old connexions with Constantinople, and resuming in the Levant that exclusive commerce which we once enjoyed.

"This treaty, to which the English must be admitted as a party, will be a preparatory step to that peace which it is, at length, more than time to conclude with them. It will infallibly induce Russia to declare war against the Porte, and cause a diversion of the most important kind in our affairs in Europe; we might even hope to regain by it what we have lost in the Mediterranean.

"I have the greater confidence in this opinion, because I am persuaded, that the English cannot see without some uneasiness, and without a secret kind of jealousy, the progress of the Russians—a progress much more dangerous for them than our continental power, now that our navy is destroyed, and that we have lost our maritime conquests.

"The only event which could possibly enable us to preserve Egypt would be an immediate war between Russia and the Porte. All the Ottoman forces which are marching against us, would instantly fly to protect the centre of the empire. In such a case the Grand Seignior would grant us peace on any terms we might think proper to ask.

"But it is probable, that without a treaty of alliance between the French Republic and Russia, which might be useful to us at this moment, but which would certainly be impolitic, this last power will only wait till the Porte shall have made peace with us to declare war against her: for by fighting against the Turks we diminish his forces and his means. This is toiling for Russia, who, on her side, unable to make war against the Porte without forcing her to conclude a peace with us, attains her purpose, which is the destruction of that power, just as effectually by making war on the French, whom she knows to be her sole stay and support.

"The Ottoman Empire is generally regarded as an old edifice tottering to its fall. The European powers have long been preparing to divide its ſcattered fragments, and many politicians conceive that the catrſtaophe is cloſe at hand. In this ſuppoſition, they think it but right that France ſhould have her ſhare of the ſpoils; and the part allotted to her is Egypt.

"If this fall of the Ottoman Empire (which is very far from being ſo certain, when we conſider the diſcuſſions and the variety of oppoſitions it would produce amongſt the great powers of Europe, even among thoſe who might have combined for this very object; when we conſider, ſtill further, that it will be eternally the intereſt of France, England, Pruſſia, and even the Empire, to oppoſe it); if this fall, I ſay, ſhould, after all, take place, France will always be in time to have Egypt. Beſides, the French will be invited there by the Turks themſelves, whenever the latter find themſelves menaced by the Ruſſians, whom they mortally hate.

"France is ſo fine a country; the French are ſo powerful by their numbers, their riches, and their ſituation with reſpect to the other continental powers, that they cannot poſſibly gain anything by a total overthrow of the ſyſtem of Europe; while, at the ſame time, this overthrow may give birth to a new and preponderating power, which ſhall deprive them of all their advantages in the Mediterranean.

"Weighing all theſe circumſtances, Citizens Directors, I cannot but conclude, that we are too diſtant, and that events operate too rapidly, to permit us to wait for your orders before we take our reſolution; at leaſt, we cannot do ſo without compromiſing the intereſts of the Republic, the ſafety and the honour of the remains of the army.

"That we muſt infallibly evacuate Egypt, eſtabliſhing, as the price of this ſacrifice, a peace, together with all our ancient connexions, with the Ottomans and the States of Barbary.

"That all which you have now to hope for, whatever

may be your views on Egypt, depends upon the present intentions of General Kleber, which are, to retard the evacuation as long as possible, by the delays which he will endeavour to introduce into the negotiation; if, after all, we are happy enough to be permitted to negotiate.

"That, finally, if the evacuation should take place without waiting for your orders, it will only be, because it was inevitable; and because, in the state of ignorance in which we all are respecting the real situation of France and of Europe, this evacuation was imperiously called for by prudence, and was not inconsistent with our political interests."

Health and respect,

E. POUSSIELGUE.

It is impossible to peruse this Letter without being obliged to acknowledge that the condition of the army was wholly hopeless, and that the artifical courage which had been raised by the chimerical and delusive promises of Buonaparté, was now changed into desperation. Apprehensions were in fact, never better founded than those here expressed; for not only were the mouths of the Nile all in danger of being blocked up by the Anglo-Turks, but the Pachas of the Desart were preparing to attack Cossier, on the side of the Red Sea, and Murad Bey was assembling the Mamelukes in the vicinity of Sifut. Dessaix was thus obliged to be constantly on the alert in Upper Egypt; and though in every skirmish he gained the advantage, he was utterly incapable of assisting either the posts on the frontiers of the Desart of those of the Delta. Negotiation, under those circumstances, was evidently the principal business to be attend to, and the English Commander having arrived off Damietta, with a large naval force, General

Kleber gladly accepted an invitation from him to treat for the evacuation of Egypt.

Sir Sidney Smith informed Kleber, in a letter dated 26th of October, that Great Britain was not a mere auxiliary, but a party concerned in the queſtion diſcuſſed in Buonaparté's Letter. From the nature of the alliance between the Sublime Porte and Great Britain, Sir Sidney declared, that, although the free evacuation of Egypt might be agreed to by the Court of Conſtantinople, it required the approbation of the Britiſh Cabinet before it could be carried into effect. Kleber deſired that the Grand Vizier would name two perſons, on behalf of the Porte, to meet Deſaix and the Adminiſtrator-general of finances, Pouſſielgue, whom he would ſend to any place that might be appointed; and that, if the Commodore's ſhip ſhould be named, he had no objections. The conferences were opened on board the Tigre, and much ingenuity was diſplayed by the French negociators to obtain more advantageous terms than their ſituation entitled them to. In the midſt of the diſcuſſions the Ottoman army laid ſiege to El Ariſh, and captured it, after a very ſlight reſiſtance from the French garriſon; at that place therefore, the treaty was concluded and ratified between Sir Sidney and General Kleber, on the 24th of January, 1800. The conditions of the treaty were, principally, that the French ſhould evacuate Egypt within three months, that they ſhould be allowed to proceed to France, with all their arms and baggage, and that the Turks ſhould provide them with money, to ſupply them with neceſſaries, both during their ſtay in Egypt and during their voyage home.

CHAPTER XX.

Buonaparté's Arrival in France.—Remarks on the Power of the English East India Company.—Seizure of Napper Tandy, &c. at Hamburgh, by Desire of the English Minister.—Relative Situation of America, as a neutral maritime State, to the Belligerent Powers.—Speech of General Washington to Congress on the American Contraband Trade.—Treaty of Commerce between England and America.—Discontent of the French Party in America.—General Washington's Speech, detailing an Insurrection.—Growing Discontents of the Americans against the English and their own Government.

TO persons wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, it may seem extraordinary, that, at a time, when it was understood the British Government kept all the ports of Egypt, as it were, hermetically sealed, Buonaparté should have ventured to defy its vigilance, and enter upon so dangerous a voyage. Such persons will, however, be much more surprised to find, that in the midst of so diligent a look-out, this terrific Commander could put to sea unobserved, and again traverse the Mediterranean, without being met by one single vessel belonging to a nation which spent that year £13,647 000, to purchase the dominion of the ocean! Persons of this sort were heard to charge the British admiralty with negligence on account of this escape, but, Buonaparté himself, who was less displeased upon the occasion, attributes it to his "good fortune".

On his voyage nothing remarkable happened; and it is only said of it, that he sometimes played and laughed with his companions, and amused himself with geometry and chemistry on board ship. On arriving off the coast of Corsica, a storm obliged the

veſſel to enter the port of Ajaccio, his native town, where the reception he met with from his countrymen was preciſely ſuch as the eclat of his victories was calculated to procure. At Corſica he learned the extent of the calamities that France had ſuffered, and again ſet out for the French coaſt, of which he was within ſight, when the ſailors diſcovered ſome Engliſh ſhips, amounting to ſeven ſail. The topmaſts were lowered with a view to eſcape obſervation, and it was propoſed to return to Corſica; but Buonaparté aſſumed the command, and inſiſted upon making for the coaſt of Provence, where he arrived ſafe, in the midſt of an aſtoniſhed multitude, who refuſed to credit the fact upon the mere hoiſting of his flag at the maſt-head, and was only convinced of the reality, when they beheld him in the boſom of their encircling crowds. When the Directory at Paris were informed that Buonaporté had landed at Frejus, from Egypt, they made known the General's arrival to the Two Councils, who received the meſſage with cries of *Vive la Republique!* The General remained at Frejus only one hour, while a carriage was procured to take him to Paris, and he arrived at the Capital on the 16th of October, being hailed on every ſide, during his journey, with the cry of "Peace! Peace!" as if the nation ſighed for that bleſſing only, and expected it at his hands alone.

It is a peculiarity in the hiſtory of this extraordinary character, that a great variety of circumſtances have always combined to promote his intereſt upon occaſions when it is extremely probable that his own intrinſic merit would have produced him little or no advantage. The circumſtance of his departure from France, with the flower of the army, at a moment when the country was moſt precariouſly ſituated,

would, of itself, have marked him out as an object of public resentment at any other time; but the almost total annihilation of that army, and such a loss, aggravated by its abandonment on a distant and inhospitable shore, must have drawn upon him the execrations of every Frenchmen, had not France have found herself humbled to the very dust by the terror and apprehensions arising from her situation, internal, as well as external.

The English had not been more successful in destroying the Egyptian Expedition than in securing the grand object of French envy, under the influence of which it had been undertaken. Not only had the British army in the East Indies overturned the throne of Tippoo, and slain him in the midst of his Capital; but, the victors immediately exercised the rights of conquest. A Proclamation was issued by the British Commander, from Seringapatam, declaring that the late Sultan had formed an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, and admitted a French force into his army, for the purpose of commencing war against the East India Company and its allies; and it charged him with other instances of hostility, and, finally, decreed, that a great portion of his immense territories should be subjected to the authority, and for ever incorporated with the dominions of the East India Company and its allies; and that a seperate government should be established in Mysore, under a descendant of the ancient Rajas of Mysore.

Thus, did the English East India Company acquire a vast accession of territorial strength, by the overthrow of one of the most restless and indefatigable princes with whom they had ever contended. New streams of wealth flowed from this conquest into the Com-

pany's coffers, and their army, which had achieved the exploit, ſhared a liberal portion of the deceaſed Prince's treaſure. If the mind were not habituated to the progreſs of the Eaſt India Company's wars, it would be curious to learn the cauſes of that eternal hoſtility between a commercial company and the natives of the country, whither its trade is directed. If we were not accuſtomed to hear of "the ſucceſs of the Company's arms," we ſhould feel much ſurpriſe, that a band of London merchants, having an excluſive privilege over their fellow merchants, by the mere ſufferance of the Government, and trading, as a chartered body of monopoliſts, to India, inſtead of endeavouring to conciliate the eſteem of the native princes and dealing with their ſubjects to mutual advantage, ſhould wage a continued war with them. Cuſtom, however, cools our curioſity, and our ſurpriſe at an event, inſenſibly ſubſides, on obſerving a continued ſucceſſion of ſimilar circumſtances. Hence, we no longer wonder tha a combination of traders ſhould unite war to commerce, ſend out armies as well as fleets, and conquer as well as well as colonize; hence we become indifferent ſpectators of the conduct of a few merchants, who, from their accompting houſe in Leadenhall Street, decree the fate of millions of human beings, in climes, they never ſaw, and who regulate the intereſts of nations which they know of but by name!

In the inſtance alluded to, however, the Eaſt India Company ſtand perfectly juſtified. The proofs of Tippoo's treachery were numerous and in inconteſtible, and his overthrow was ſudden; for, although he meditated an attack upon the Engliſh, he did not ſuppoſe that they were acquainted with his deſign. Being taken

by ſurpriſe, and the ſupplies of troops which he had ſecretly ſtipulated for from the French, not having arrived, Seringapatam was carried by ſtorm, and his treachery was dreadfully puniſhed, by the loſs of his dominions and his life.

The very great trade which is ſecured by this enormous power of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, to the ports of Great Britain, are ſources of national wealth that are properly eſtimated by the Government; and, if the Company's concerns are injured in India, the Britiſh revenue would be proportionably decreaſed. Unaſſailable, but by ſlow and tedious operations, in Europe, it was natural that a man of ſo much enterpriſe and ambition as Buonaparté, ſhould endeavour to cripple England by ſome deciſive blow in another quarter. The motives for his expedition to Egypt, and its various fortunes, until the time when he ſailed for Europe, have been already detailed.

It is much to be lamented, that nations, as well as individuals, are apt to aſſume a haughty carriage whenever fortune happens to proſper their endeavours: a remarkable inſtance of this kind took place in the conduct of Great Britain towards the free, but petty and feeble, city of Hamburgh; whoſe territory it moſt outrageouſly violated, by the inſtrumentality of Sir James Crawford its miniſter. It has been related, in a former volume, that Napper Tandy, accompanied by General Rey, and ſome troops, attempted to land on the North of Ireland, but put to ſea on learning the iſſue of the Rebellion. The veſſel in which Tandy and his companions were, was driven by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Norway; where, apprehending that, in navigating the North Sea, they ſhould

fall in with ſome Engliſh cruiſers, they reſolved to proceed to France by land. Intelligence of their route and of their object being received at Hamburgh, ſhortly after they had arrived there, Sir James Crawford applied for a warrant to arreſt them, as ſubjects of England : after much demur, it was granted, and Napper Tandy, with his aſſociates, were apprehended, put in irons, and confined in ſeperate guardhouſes. Citizen Marragon, the French Miniſter, inſtantly claimed the priſoners as citizens of the French Republic, and threatened to quit Hamburgh if they were not immediately releaſed; Sir James as poſitively demanded that they ſhould be detained. The Senate, greatly alarmed by the determined tone of both the miniſters, deliberated on the laſt means of conciliating each, after the ſteps that had been taken by the magiſtrates. At length, the priſoners were unironed, and it was aſſented to by Citizen Marragon, that they ſhould remain in cuſtody and be ſent to England, on condition that only the formality of a trial ſhould be adopted; Sir James Crawford agreeing to this arrangement, the priſoners were put on board the Xenophon frigate, at Hamburgh, which immediately ſailed for Cuxhaven, and they arrived in Ireland on the 17th of November, 1799. The city of Hamburgh had been much alarmed by the threats of the French Reſident, and the citizens in general, diſapproved the meaſure as a violation of their neutrality, which would, probably, ſubject them to the diſpleaſure of the French Government. It is impoſſible to review this tranſaction without tracing in it evident marks of the imbecility of the French Government. This was attacking the lion in his very den, and it was an inſtance of temerity, that would hardly have been

hazarded, had not the diſtracted ſtate of the Directory rendered it incapable of exerting thoſe energies, which, a few months before, had made the French arms the terror of Europe.

It was the peculiar misfortune of this war to ſubject the peaceful citizens of neutral powers, alternately, to the evil of one or other, and ſometimes, both, of the Belligerents, and, during a very long period, it ſeemed that the Weſtern world would have been plunged into all the horrors of this ſanguinary conteſt. The enterpriſing ſpirit of the Americans had early engaged them in the various commercial ſpeculations, which the obſtacles thrown in the way of the maritime tranſactions of the belligerent powers left open to competition. This ſpirit frequently led the tranſ-atlantic merchants beyond the limits of fair and legitimate commerce, and expoſed them, alternately, to the cenſure of one or other of the contending powers. As early as 1793, the murmurs upon this head were ſo loudly expreſſed, that General Waſhington, Preſident of the United States, thought it neceſſary to prepare the public mind for the diſcuſſions to which the ſtate of things might probably give riſe; and, in a Speech delivered by him, to Congreſs, on the 3d of December, in that year, are the following obſervations:

"As ſoon as the war in Europe had engaged thoſe powers with whom the United States have the moſt extenſive relations, there was reaſon to apprehend that our intercourſe with them might be interrupted, and our diſpoſition for peace drawn into queſtion, by the ſuſpicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It ſeemed, therefore, to be my duty, to admoniſh our citizens of the conſequences of a contraband trade, and of hoſtile acts to any of the parties; and to obtain, by a declaration of the exiſting

legal ſtate of things, an eaſier admiſſion of our right to the immunities belonging to our ſituation. Under theſe impreſſions, the Proclamation, which will be laid before you, was iſſued.

"In this poſture of affairs, both new and delicate, I reſolved to adopt general rules, which ſhould conform to the treaties and aſſert the privileges of the United States; theſe were reduced into a ſyſtem which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myſelf at liberty to forbid the ſale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France, to be brought into our ports; I have not refuſed to cauſe them to be reſtored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory, or by veſſels commiſſioned, or equiped in a warlike form within the limits of the United States.

"It reſts with the wiſdom of Congreſs to correct, improve, or enforce, this plan of procedure; and, it will, probably, be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the juriſdiction of the courts of the United States, to many caſes, which, though dependent on principles already recognized, demand ſome further proviſions.

"As ſeveral of the courts have doubted, under particular circumſtances, their power to liberate the veſſels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although ſeized under a falſe colour of being hoſtile property, and have denied their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory, it would ſeem proper to regulate their juriſdiction in theſe points. But if the executive is to be the reſort in either of the two laſt mentioned caſes, it is hoped, that he will be authorized by law to have facts aſcertained by the courts, when, for his own information, he ſhall requeſt it.

"A decree however, of the National Aſſembly, ſubjecting veſſels laden with proviſions to be carried into their ports, and making enemy's goods lawful prize in the veſſel of a friend, contrary to our treaty, though revoked at one time as to the United States, has been ſince extended to their

veſſels alſo, as has been recently ſtated to us. Repreſentations on this ſubject will be immediately given in charge to our miniſter there, and the reſult will be communicated to the legiſlature.

"I have reſpected and purſued the ſtipulations of our treaties, according to what I judged their true ſenſe; and have withheld no act of friendſhip which their affairs have called for from us, and which juſtice to others left us free to perform. I have gone further:—rather than employ force for the reſtitution of certain veſſels, which, I deemed the United States bound to reſtore, I thought it more adviſeable to ſatisfy the parties, by avowing it to be my opinion, that, if the reſtitution were not made, it would be incumbent on the United States to make compenſation. The papers now communicated will more particularly appriſe you of theſe tranſactions."

From the commencement of the war the belligerent powers acted upon what is called the principle of the war of 1756, that is, they made it a rule to ſeize, capture, and confiſcate, the property of the enemy, wherever they might find it. A very ſhort ſeaſon left the Britiſh entire maſters of the ſeas and, therefore, it was to them that the contraband trade carried on by neutrals was principally injurious. Againſt the cruiſers of that power, a cry was very ſoon raiſed in America; and the French faction, which was extremely powerful in all the maritime countries, kept up an inceſſant clamour againſt the "oppreſſion and tyranny" that ſubjected neutrals to ſearch and detention. Free ſhips, it was pretended, conſtituted free goods, and, there were even wiſe men who laid down the monſtrous propoſition, that all the commerce of the enemy ſhould be allowed to paſs freely, provided he could find neutrals baſe enough to cover it for him as their own.

The encroaching ſpirit of America frequently af-

ſumed ſuch a boiſterous form, that it became neceſſary to adjuſt the diſputes that had ariſen between the government of the United States and that of Great Britain. In the diſcuſſions it was eaſily to be obſerved that the American government was not influenced by the ſame unreaſonable diſpoſition as the citizens of that country were, and the claims it advanced were evidently more the effect of a ſenſe of duty as agents than of their principles as men. The Britiſh Government wiſhed to conciliate this diſpoſition, and the reſult was, that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, was concluded between the two powers on the 19th of November, 1794. In concluding this treaty, the negociators, on both ſides, entered into a compromiſe, for the ſake of peace, but the advantage was all on the ſide of America; for whilſt America conſented that the belligerent power ſhould retain the right of ſearch, Great Britain agreed that "The merchandiſe of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the countries at war, which ſhould have been acquired by the ſubjects of the neutral power, ſhould be carried in neutral veſſels."

This was ſubſtantially granting to America all ſhe wanted; for, it was abandoning the rule of the war of 1756, and it was enabling every American, for about forty ſhillings-worth of perjury, to tranſport a cargo of French, Spaniſh, or Dutch property, from ſea to ſea, as his own. The only apology for this treaty was, that it was only deſigned as a temporary experiment, and was to expire at the end of two years after the termination of the war, when it was ſtipulated, that the contending parties ſhould "endeavour to agree, whether in any, and in what caſes, neutral veſſels ſhould protect enemies property."

Notwithſtanding the advantages the conceſſion of

the British cabinet gave to the French, nothing was more foreign to the hearts of the partisans of that nation than contentment with them. In America the very temper and mildness of the government was taken as a fair ground to anticipate the result of the negociation, and pains were taken to sow discontents upon the most unfounded pretences. Even the Minister of France (Genet) had the temerity to distribute inflamatory writings amongst the people, and his example was followed by his agents after the American government had insisted upon his recal.

On assembling the legislature, in the session of 1794-5, the President, Washington, detailed the particulars of an insurrection, that had actually taken place; which, as it serves to shew the character of the government of the time, and will throw much light upon some subsequent transactions, we shall give in his own words.

"Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives.

"When we call to mind the gracious indulgence of heaven, by which the American People became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power, and happiness to which it seems destined; with the deepest regret, do I announce to you, that, during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States, have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

"During the session of the year 1790, it was expedient to exercise the legislative power granted by the constitution of the United Sates, "to lay and collect excises." In a majority of the states, scarcely an objection was heard to this

mode of taxation. In ſome, indeed, alarms were at firſt conceived, until they were baniſhed by reaſon and patriotiſm. In the four Weſtern counties of Pennſylvania, a prejudice, foſtered and embittered by the artifice of men, who laboured for an aſcendancy over the will of others, by the guidance of their paſſions, produced ſymptoms of riot and violence. It is well known, that Congreſs did not heſitate to examine the complaints which were preſented; and to relieve them, as far as juſtice dictated, or general convenience would permit. But the impreſſion which this moderation made on the diſcontented, did not correſpond with what it deſerved—The arts of deluſion were no longer confined to the efforts of deſigning individuals. The very forbearance to preſs proſecutions, was miſinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws; and aſſociations of men began to denounce threats againſt the officers employed. From a belief, that, by a mere formal concert, their operation might be defeated, certain ſelf-created ſocieties aſſumed the tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater part of Pennſylvania itſelf were conforming themſelves to the acts of exciſe, a few counties were reſolved to fruſtrate them. It was now perceived that every expectation from the tenderneſs which had been hitherto purſued, was unavailing; and that farther delay could only create an opinion of impotency or irreſolution in the government. Legal proceſs was therefore delivered to the marſhal, againſt the rioters and delinquent diſtillers.

"No ſooner was he underſtood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance fo armed men was aimed at his perſon, and the perſon and property of the inſpector of the revenue: They fired upon the marſhal, arreſted him, and detained him for ſome time as a priſoner. He was obliged by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the ſervice of other proceſſes on the Weſt ſide of the Alleghany Mountain; and a deputation was afterwards ſent to him, to demand a ſurrender of that which he had ſerved. A numerous body

repeatedly attacked the houſe of the Inſpector, ſeized his papers of office, and finally, deſtroyed by fire his buildings, and whatſoever they contained. Both of theſe officers, from a juſt regard to their ſafety, fled to the ſeat of government, it being avowed, that the motives of ſuch outrages were to compel the reſignation of the Inſpector; to withſtand, by force of arms, the authority of the United States, and thereby, to extort a repeal of the laws of exciſe, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

"Upon the teſtimony of theſe facts, an aſſociate juſtice of the ſupreme court of the United States notified to me, 'That in the counties of Waſhington and Alleghany in Pennſylvania, the laws of the United States were oppoſed, and the execution thereof obſtructed by combinations, too powerful to be ſuppreſſed by the ordinary courſe of judicial proceedings, or by the powers veſted in the Marſhal of that diſtrict.' On this call, momentous in the extreme, I ſought and weighed what might beſt ſubdue the criſis. On the one hand, the judiciary was pronounced to be ſtripped of its capacity to enforce the laws; crimes, which reached the very exiſtence of ſocial order, were perpetrated without controul; the friends of government were inſulted, abuſed, and over-awed into ſilence, or an apparent acquieſcence; and to yield to the treaſonable fury of ſo ſmall a portion of the United States, would be to violate the fundamental principle of our conſtitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority ſhall prevail. On the other, to array citizen againſt citizen; to publiſh the diſhonour of ſuch exceſſes, to encounter the expence, and other embarraſſments, of ſo diſtant an expedition—were ſteps too delicate—too cloſely interwoven with many affecting conſiderations, to be lightly adopted. I poſtponed, therefore, the ſummoning of the militia immediately into the field; but I required them to be held in readineſs, that, if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their

danger, ſhould be fruitleſs, military force might be prepared to act, before the ſeaſon ſhould be too far advanced.

"My proclamation of the 7th of Auguſt laſt, was accordingly iſſued, and accompanied by the appointment of commiſſioners, who were charged to repair to the ſcene of inſurrection. They were authoriſed to confer with any bodies of men or individuals. They were inſtructed to be candid and explicit in ſtating the ſenſations which had been excited in the executive, and his earneſt wiſh to avoid a reſort to coercion: to repreſent, however, that, without ſubmiſſion, coercion muſt be the reſort; but to invite them, at the ſame time, to return to the demeanour of faithful citizens, by ſuch accommodations as lay within the ſphere of executive power. Pardon, too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States, and that of Pennſylvania, upon no other condition, than a ſatisfactory aſſurance of obedience to the laws.

"Although the report of the commiſſioners marks their firmneſs and abilities, and muſt unite all virtuous men, by ſhowing that the means of conciliation have been exhauſted; all of thoſe who had committed or abetted the tumults, did not ſubſcribe to the mild form which was propoſed as the atonement; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither ſufficiently general nor concluſive to recommend or warrant the farther ſuſpenſion or march of the militia.

"Thus the painful alternative could not be diſcarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admoniſhing the Inſurgents, in my proclamation of the 20th of September laſt.

"It was a taſk too difficult to aſcertain with preciſion, the loweſt degree of force competent to the quelling of the inſurrection. From a reſpect, indeed, to economy, and the care of my fellow-citizens belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accompliſh an eſtimate.—My great reluctance to aſcribe too much importance to the oppoſition, had its extent been accurately ſeen, would have been a de-

cided inducement to the ſmalleſt efficient numbers. In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion 15,000 men, as being an army which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt and adequate, in every view, and might, perhaps, by rendering reſiſtance deſperate, prevent the effuſion of blood. Quotas had been aſſigned to the ſtates of New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; the governor of Pennſylvania having declared, on this occaſion, an opinion which juſtified a requiſition to the other ſtates.

"As Commander in Chief of the militia, when called into the actual ſervice of the United States, I have viſited the places of general rendezvous, to obtain more exact information, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a perſuaſion, that the laws were ſecure from obſtruction; that the civil magiſtrate was able to bring to juſtice ſuch of the moſt culpable as have not embraced the proffered terms of amneſty, and may be deemed fit objects of example; that the friends to peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance which they ought always to receive, and I truſt, ever will, receive, againſt the vicious and turbulent; I ſhould have caught with avidity that opportunity of reſtoring the militia to their families and homes. But ſucceeding intelligence has tended to manifeſt the neceſſity of what has been done: it being now confeſſed, by thoſe who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the Inſurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed to a particular law, but that a ſpirit, inimical to all order, has actuated many of the offenders. If the ſtate of things had afforded reaſon of the continuance of my preſence with the army, it would not have been withholden. But every appearance aſſuring ſuch an iſſue as will redound to the reputation and ſtrength of the United States, I have judged it moſt proper to reſume my duties at the ſeat of government, leaving the chief command with the governors of Virginia.

"Still, however, as it is probable that, in a commotion

like the present, whatsoever may be the pretence, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside; the stationing of a small force, for a certain period, in the four Western counties of Pennsylvania, will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws, or of others, who may have exposed themselves by an honourable attachment to them.

"Thirty days, from the commencement of this session being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

"Among the discussions which may arise from this aspect of our affairs, and from the documents which will be submitted to Congress, it will not escape their observation, that not only the Inspector of the revenue, but other officers in the United States in Pennsylvania, have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property.—The obligations and policy of indemnifying them are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, whether policy will not enlarge this provision to the retribution of other citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included, would not be great; and, on future emergencies, the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence shall find a recompense in its liberality.

"While there is a cause to lament, that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquillity, of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a new application any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune: It has been demonstrated, that our prosperity rests on solid foundations, by furnishing an additional proof that my fellow citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty; that they feel their

inſeparable union; that, nothwithſtanding all the devices which have been uſed to ſway them from their intereſt and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws againſt licentious invaſions as they were to defend their rights againſt uſurpation. It has been a ſpectacle, diſplaying to the higheſt advantage the value of republican governments, to behold the moſt and the leaſt wealthy of our citizens ſtanding in the ſame ranks, as private ſoldiers, pre-eminently diſtinguiſhed by being the army of the conſtitution, undeterred by a march of three hundred miles, over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement ſeaſon, or by any other diſcouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I have experienced from the chief magiſtrates of the ſtates to which my requiſitions have been addreſſed.

"To every deſcription, indeed, of citizens let praiſe be given. But let them perſevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious repoſitory of American happineſs, the conſtitution of the United States. Let them cheriſh it too, for the ſake of thoſe, who, from every clime, are daily ſeeking a dwelling in our land. And, when, in the calm moments of reflection, they ſhall have retraced the origin and progreſs of the inſurrection; let them determine, whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careleſs of conſequences, and diſregarding the unerring truth, that thoſe who rouſe, cannot always appeaſe a civil convulſion, have diſſeminated, from an ignorance, or perverſon of facts, ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and accuſations of the whole government."

Of this inſurrection, it is only neceſſary to add, that, it was quelled on the firſt appearance of the troops, but, the ſpirit in which it originated remained unbroken, and when news of the treaty of amity, commerce, &c. arrived in the United States, the partiſans of France were determined to make that treaty

the inſtrument of overthrowing the government. The Preſident did not announce the reſult of the negociation till above a year after the treaty had been ſigned, and the French Government, in the interim, did all that was poſſible to annoy the American commerce. Every argument was uſed to perſuade the Americans, that their government had betrayed its truſt, and, beſide the complaints circulated upon the ground of captures, much ſtreſs was laid upon the miſtakes, that the Britiſh officers ſometimes commited, in preſſing American ſeamen for Engliſhmen.

The violent party gained ſtrength conſiderably by declaiming upon the ill conſequences which their lively imaginations predicted would reſult from the treaty, and it was reſolved to make a motion in the houſe of repreſentatives, which, ſhould lead to a vote of cenſure upon the government for having ſanctioned it. In purſuance of this determination, a reſolution paſſed the houſe, May, 24th, 1796, to demand from the Preſident a copy of the inſtructions that had been given to Mr. Jay, the Miniſter who had negociated the treaty, to which General Waſhington made the following reply:

"Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

"With the utmoſt attention I have conſidered your reſolution of the 24th inſt. requeſting me to lay before your houſe a copy of the inſtructions to the miniſter of the United States who negotiated the treaty with the King of Great Britain, together with the correſpondence and other documents relative to that treaty; excepting ſuch of the ſaid papers as any exiſting negotiation may render improper to be diſcloſed.

"In deliberating on this ſubject it was impoſſible for me to loſe ſight of the principle which ſome have avowed in its

discussion, or to avoid extending my views to the consequences which must flow from the admission of that principle.

"I trust that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a disposition to withhold any information which the constitution has enjoined upon the President as a duty to give, or which could be required of him, by either house of Congress as a right; and with truth I affirm, that it has been, as it will continue to be, while I have the honour to preside in the government, my constant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, so far as the trust delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my sense of the obligation it imposes to "preserve, protect, and defend the constitution," will permit.

"The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution, and their success must often depend on secrecy; and, even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions, which may have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniencies, perhaps, danger and mischief, in relation to other powers. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the principle upon which that body was formed confining it to a small number of members. To admit, then, a right in the House of Representatives to demand, and to have, as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power would be to establish a dangerous precedent.

"It does not occur that the inspection of the papers asked for can be relative to any purpose under the cognizance of the House of Representatives, except that of an impeachment, which the resolution has not expressed. I repeat, that I have no disposition to withhold any information which the duty of my station will permit, or the public

good ſhall require to be diſcloſed; and, in fact, all the papers affecting the negotiation with Great Britain were laid before the Senate when the treaty itſelf was communicated for their conſideration and advice.

"The courſe which the debate has taken on the reſolution of the houſe leads to ſome obſervation on the mode of making treaties under the conſtitution of the United States.

"Having been a member of the general convention, and knowing the principles on which the conſtitution was formed, I have never entertained but one opinion on this ſubject; and, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is excluſively veſted in the Preſident, by and with the advice of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the ſenators preſent concur; and that every treaty ſo made and promulgated thenceforward became the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty-making power has been underſtood by foreign nations; and in all treaties made with them, we have declared, and they have believed, that, when ratified by the Preſident, with the advice and conſent of the Senate, they become obligatory. In this conſtruction of the conſtitution every houſe of repreſentatives has, heretofore, acquieſced; and, until the preſent time, not a doubt or ſuſpicion has appeared, to my knowledge, that this conſtruction was not the true one. Nay, they have more than acquieſced; for, until now, without controverting the obligation of ſuch treaties, they have made all the requiſite proviſions for carrying them into effect.

"There is alſo reaſon to believe that this conſtruction agrees with the opinions entertained by the ſtate conventions, when they were deliberating on the conſtitution, eſpecially by thoſe who objected to it, becauſe there was not required, in commercial treaties, the conſent of two-thirds of the whole Senate, inſtead of two-thirds of the ſenators preſent; and becauſe, in treaties reſpecting territorial and certain other rights and claims, the concurrence of three-

fourths of the whole number of the members of both houſes reſpectively was not made neceſſary.

"It is a fact declared by the general convention, and univerſally underſtood, that the conſtitution of the United States was the reſult of a ſpirit of amity and mutual conceſſion; and it is well known, that, under this influence, the ſmaller ſtates were admitted to an equal repreſentation in the Senate with the larger ſtates, and that this branch of the government was inveſted with great powers; for, on the equal participation of thoſe powers the ſovereignty and political ſafety of the ſmaller ſtates was deemed eſſentially to depend.

"If other proofs than theſe, and the plain letter of the conſtitution itſelf, be neceſſary to aſcertain the point under conſideration, they may be found in the journals of the general convention, which I have depoſited in the office of the department of ſtate: in thoſe journals it will appear, that a propoſition was made, "that no treaty ſhould be binding on the United States which was not ratified by a law," and that the propoſition was explicitly rejected.

"As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my underſtanding, that the aſſent of the Houſe of Repreſentatives is not neceſſary to the validity of a treaty; as a treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itſelf all the objects requiring legiſlative proviſion, and on which theſe papers called for can throw no light; and as it is eſſential to the due adminiſtration of the government that the boundaries fixed by the conſtitution between the different departments ſhould be preſerved—a juſt regard to the conſtitution and to the duty of my office, under all the circumſtances of this caſe, forbid a compliance with your requeſt.

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

CHAPTER XXI.

Discontents in America.—The Struggles between the French and the English Parties.—The Ascendancy of the mercantile Interest and Ratification of the English Treaty.—The Resignation of the Presidency of the United States by General Washington.—His important Declaration on going into Retirement.—Intrigues previous to the Choice of the new President.—Decree of the French Directory delivered by Citizen Adet to Mr. Pickering.—Citizen Adet's Note and Mr. Pickering's Answer.—Mr. Adams chosen President.

ALTHOUGH the firm and dignified conduct of the President served to encourage and consolidate the friends of government, it by no means weakened the opposition; the Congress, and the House of Representatives both refused to ratify the treaty or to pass the laws necessary to carry it into effect. The whole country was now reduced to a state of alarm; trade became at a stand, as it was thought that the opposition would not be satisfied till they had plunged their country into a war with England; mercantile people and all persons of property dreaded the consequences, and it was impossible to ensure the ships that were wanted to be sent to sea. These troubles were greatly fomented by vast numbers of strangers, who, haveing been imbued with French principles, and become dissatisfied with their own countries in consequence, had sought refuge in America, where they soon found as much to find fault with as they had seen at home, and were desirous of creating that land anew, because they could find no new one to go to. All these put themselves under the guidance of

the French emiſſaries, and ſtrove to bring about a rupture with England. At length, the mercantile intereſt prevailed, and the partiſans of peace, after remonſtrating with the legiſlative bodies, had the ſatisfaction of getting the ratification conſummated, though by a very ſmall majority.

The ſtudy of American politics has not yet become intereſting to Europe; but, the events of which we are now ſpeaking, will be dwelt upon with conſiderable attention by poſterity, as having led to the moſt ſublime diſplay of moral greatneſs that the annals of mankind have yet recorded. The reſignation of General Waſhington, after having been twice choſen Preſident of the Imperial Republic, and after having exerciſed the ſupreme power in a way that proved him ſuperior to every rival oppoſition, evinced and inſtance of pure loyalty and virtue that warrant a fair hope in the improvement of mankind. Whatever may be the analogies that poſterity will have to trace in the biography of Waſhington and Buonaparté, time only can develope; for the preſent, we can ſee nothing more, than that they both lived in the ſame age and both conquered the enemies of their country: this, however, will always be motive enough for conſidering their characters together; and, in ſtudying the life of Buonaparté, it will always be profitable to conſider the reſignation of Waſhington. This event, like every other that regards that great Man, is ſo much better accounted for in his own words than in any other perſon's narration, that it would be unpardonable to relate it in any other form than that of his own Declaration to his fellow citizens.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

"Friends and fellow Citizens,

The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust; it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

"I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

"The acceptance of, and continuance, hitherto, in the office, to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been an uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an Address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

"I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination

incompatible with the ſentiment of duty or propriety: and am perſuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my ſervices, that, in the preſent circumſtances of our country, you will not diſapprove of my determination to retire.

"The impreſſions with which I firſt undertook the arduous truſt were explained on the proper occaſion: in the diſcharge of this truſt I will only ſay, that I have with good intentions contributed toward the organization and adminiſtration of the government, the beſt exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconſcious, in the outſet, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps, ſtill more in the eyes of others, has ſtrengthened the motives to diffidence of myſelf; and every day the increaſing weight of years admoniſhes me more and more, that the ſhade of retirement is as neceſſary to me as it will be welcome: ſatisfied, that, if any circumſtances have given peculiar value to my ſervices, they were temporary, I have the conſolation to believe, that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political ſcene, patriotiſm does not forbid it.

"In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to ſuſpend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me; ſtill more for the ſtedfaſt confidence with which it has ſupported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifeſting my inviolable attachment, by ſervices faithful and perſevering, though in uſefulneſs unequal to my zeal. If benefits have reſulted to our country from theſe ſervices, let it always be remembered to your praiſe; and as an inſtructive example in our annals, that, under circumſtances in which the paſſions, agitated in every direction, were liable to miſlead, amid appearances ſometimes dubious—viciſſitudes of fortune often diſcouraging— inſinuations, in which, not unfrequently, want of ſucceſs has countenanced the ſpirit of criti-

cism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

"Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motives to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former, and not dissimilar, occasion.

"Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

"The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so: for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty

which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together its various parts.

"For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of America, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religious manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

"But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

"The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the production of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime streng h, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and, in the progressive improvement of inferior communications by land and water, will, more and more, find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home.

The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is, perhaps, of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensible outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own seperate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

"While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption of those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied toge-

ther by the ſame government; which their own rivalſhips alone would be ſufficient to produce, but which oppoſite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would ſtimulate and imbitter. Hence, likewiſe, they will avoid the neceſſity of thoſe overgrown military eſtabliſhments, which, under any form of government, are inauſpicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hoſtile to republican liberty: in this ſenſe it is that your union ought to be conſidered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preſervation of the other.

"Theſe conſiderations ſpeak a perſuaſive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic deſire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace ſo large a ſphere? let experience ſolve it; to liſten to mere ſpeculations in ſuch a caſe were criminal. We are authoriſed to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the reſpective ſubdiviſions, will afford a happy iſſue to the experiment; it is well worth a fair and full experiment. With ſuch powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience ſhall not have demonſtrated its impracticability, there will always be reaſon to diſturb the patriotiſm of thoſe, who, in any quarter, may endeavour to weaken its bands.

"In contemplating the cauſes which may diſturb our union it occurs, as matter of very ſerious concern, that any ground ſhould have been furniſhed for characterizing parties by geographical diſcriminations—Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Weſtern; whence deſigning men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local intereſts and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular diſtricts, is, to miſrepreſent the opinions and aims of other diſtricts. You cannot ſhield yourſelves too much againſt the jealouſies and heartburnings which ſpring from theſe miſrepreſentations;

they will tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have, lately, had an useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely, for the preservation of these advantages, on the union, by which they were procured? will they not, henceforth, be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union a government for the whole is indispensible. No alliance, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must, inevitably, experience the infractions and interruptions, which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty.

The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

"All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe, the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency; they serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small, but artful and enterprising, minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

"However combinations or associations of the above description may, now-and-then, answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp to themselves the reins of government, destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

"Toward the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also, that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be, to

effect in the forms of the conſtitution alterations, which will impair the energy of the ſyſtem, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at leaſt as neceſſary to fix the true character of governments as of other human inſtitutions—that experience is the ſureſt ſtandard by which to teſt the real tendency of the exiſting conſtitution of a country—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypotheſis and opinion, form the endleſs variety of hypotheſis and opinion; and, remember, eſpecially, that, for the efficient management of your common intereſts, in a country ſo extenſive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is conſiſtent with the perfect ſecurity of liberty is indiſpenſible. Liberty itſelf will find in ſuch a government, with powers properly diſtributed and adjuſted, its ſureſt guardian: it is, indeed, little elſe than a name, where the government is too feeble to withſtand the enterpriſes or factions, to confine each member of the ſociety within the limits preſcribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the ſecure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of perſon and property.

"I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the ſtate, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical diſcriminations. Let me now take a more comprehenſive view, and warn you, in the moſt ſolemn manner, againſt the baneful effects of the ſpirit of party generally.

"This ſpirit, unfortunately, is inſeparable from our nature, having its root in the ſtrongeſt paſſions of the human mind: it exiſts, under different ſhapes, in all governments, more or leſs ſtifled, controlled, or repreſſed; but in thoſe of the popular form it is ſeen in its greateſt rankneſs, and is truly their worſt enemy.

"The alternate domination of one faction over another, ſharpened by the ſpirit of revenge, natural to party diſſenſion, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the moſt horrid enormities, is itſelf a moſt horrid deſ-

potiſm; but this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent deſpotiſm. The diſorders and miſeries which reſult gradually incline the minds of men to ſeek ſecurity and repoſe in the abſolute power of an individual; and, ſooner or later, the chief of ſome prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this diſpoſition to the purpoſes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which, nevertheleſs, ought not to be entirely out of ſight) the common and continual miſchiefs of the ſpirit of party are ſufficient to make it the intereſt and duty of a wiſe people to diſcourage and reſtrain it.

"It ſerves always to diſtract the public counſils and enfeeble the public adminiſtration; it agitates the community with ill-founded jealouſies and falſe alarms, kindles the animoſity of one part againſt another, foments, occaſionally, riot and inſurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated acceſs to the government itſelf, through the channels of party paſſions. Thus the policy and will of one country are ſubjected to the policy and will of another.

"There is an opinion, that parties, in free countries, are uſeful checks upon the adminiſtration of the government, and ſerve to keep alive the ſpirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical caſt, patriotiſm may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the ſpirit of party. But in thoſe of the popular character, in governments purely elective it is a ſpirit not be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that ſpirit for every ſalutary purpoſe. And there being conſtant danger of exceſs, the effects ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and aſſuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands an uniform vigilance to prevent its burſting into a flame, leſt, inſtead of warming, it ſhould conſume.

"It is important, likewiſe, that the habits of thinking in

a free country, ſhould inſpire caution in thoſe entruſted with its adminiſtration, to confine themſelves within their reſpective conſtitutional ſpheres, avoiding in the exerciſe of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The ſpirit of encroachment tends to conſolidate the powers of all departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real deſpotiſm. A juſt eſtimate of that love of power, and proneneſs to abuſe it, which predominates in the human heart, is ſufficient to ſatisfy us of the truth of this poſition. The neceſſity of reciprocal checks in the exerciſe of political power, by dividing and diſtributing it into different depoſitories, and conſtituting each the guardian of the public weal againſt invaſions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern; ſome of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preſerve them muſt be as neceſſary as to inſtitute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the diſtribution or modification of the conſtitutional power be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the conſtitution deſignates. But let there be no change by uſurpation; for though this, in one inſtance, may be the inſtrument of good, it is the cuſtomary weapon by which free governments are deſtroyed. The precedent muſt always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or tranſient benefit which the uſe can at any time yield.

"Of all the diſpoſitions and habits which lead to political proſperity, religion and morality are indiſpenſible ſupports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotiſm who ſhould labour to ſubvert theſe great pillars of human happineſs, theſe firmeſt props of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to reſpect and to cheriſh them. A volume could not trace all their connexion with private and public felicity. Let it be aſked, Where is the ſecurity for property, for reputation, for life, if the ſenſe of religious obligation deſert the oaths which are the inſtruments of inveſtigation in courts of juſtice? And let us with caution indulge the ſuppoſition,

that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education, on minds of peculiar ſtructure, reaſon and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in excluſion of religious principle.

"It is ſubſtantially true, that virtue or morality is a neceſſary ſpring of popular government: the rule, indeed, extends with more or leſs force, to every ſpecies of free governments. Who that is a ſincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to ſhake the foundation of the fabric?

"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, inſtitutions for the general diffuſion of knowledge. In proportion as the ſtructure of government gives force to public opinion it is eſſential that public opinion ſhould be enlightened.

"As a very important ſource of ſtrength and ſecurity cheriſh public credit. One method of preſerving it is, to uſe it as ſparingly as poſſible; avoiding occaſions of expenſe by cultivating peace, but remembering alſo that timely diſburſements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater diſburſements to repel it; avoiding, likewiſe, the accumulation of debt; not only by ſhunning occaſions of expenſe, but by vigorous exertions in the time of peace to diſcharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occaſioned, not ungenerouſly throwing upon poſterity the burden which we ourſelves ought to bear. The execution of theſe maxims belongs to your repreſentatives, but it is neceſſary that public opinion ſhould co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is eſſential that you ſhould practically bear in mind, that toward the payment of debts there muſt be a revenue; that to have a revenue, there muſt be taxes; that no taxes can be deviſed which are not, more or leſs, inconvenient and unpleaſant; that the intrinſic embarraſſment inſeparable from the ſelection of their proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a deciſive motive for a candid con-

ſtruction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a ſpirit of acquiſcence in the meaſures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

"Obſerve good faith and juſtice toward all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no great diſtant period, a great nation, to give to mankind a magnanimous, and too novel an example, of a people always guided by an exalted juſtice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the courſe of time and things, the fruits of ſuch a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be loſt by a ſteady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? the experiment, at leaſt, is recommended by every ſentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impoſſible by its vices!

"In the execution of ſuch a plan nothing is more eſſential, than that permanent inveterate antipathies againſt particular nations, and paſſionate attachments for others, ſhould be excluded, and that, in place of them, juſt and amicable feelings toward all ſhould be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondneſs, is, in ſome degree, a ſlave; it is a ſlave to its animoſity or to its affection, either of which is ſufficient to lead it aſtray from its duty and its intereſt. Antipathy in one nation againſt another diſpoſes each more readily to offer inſult and injury, to lay hold of ſlight cauſes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occaſions of diſpute occur: hence frequent colliſions, obſtinate, envenomed, and bloody conteſts. The nation, prompted by ill-will and reſentment, ſometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the beſt calculations of policy. The government ſometimes participates in the national propenſity, and adopts, through paſſion, what reaſon would reject; at other times it makes the animoſity of the nation ſubſervient to projects of hoſtility, inſtigated by pride, ambition,

and other sinister and pernicious motives; the peace often, sometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

"So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and, infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favourite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and, by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favourite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even popularity; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

"As the avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, toward a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens!) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of a republican government. But that jealousy

to be uſeful, muſt be impartial; elſe it becomes the inſtrument of the very influence to be avoided, inſtead of a defence againſt it. Exceſſive partiality for one foreign nation, and exceſſive diſlike of another, cauſe thoſe whom they actuate to ſee danger only on one ſide, and ſerve to veil, and even ſecond, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may reſiſt the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become ſuſpected and odious; while its tools and dupes uſurp the applauſe and confidence of the people to ſurrender their intereſts.

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as poſſible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us ſtop.

"Europe has a ſet of primary intereſts, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence ſhe muſt be engaged in frequent controverſies, the cauſes of which are eſſentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it muſt be unwiſe in us to implicate ourſelves by artificial ties in the ordinary viciſſitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and colliſions of her friendſhips or her enmities.

"Our detached and diſtant ſituation invites and enables us to purſue a different courſe. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take ſuch an attitude as will cauſe the neutrality we may at any time reſolve upon to be ſcrupulouſly reſpected; when belligerent nations, under the impoſſibility of making acquiſitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation: when we may chuſe peace or war, as our intereſt, guided by juſtice, ſhall counſel.

"Why forego the advantage of ſo peculiar a ſituation? Why quit our own to ſtand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our deſtiny with that of any part of Eu-

rope, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour, or caprice?

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for, let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise, to extend them.

"Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

"Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, by forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate, constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favour from another; that it must pay, with a proportion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

"In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish: that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may, now and then, recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

"How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records, and other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

"In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approved voice and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

"After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

"The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

"The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred,

without anything more, from the obligation which juſtice and humanity impoſe on every nation in caſes in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

"The inducements of intereſt for obſerving that conduct will beſt be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to ſettle and mature its yet recent inſtitutions, and to make progreſs without interruption to that degree of ſtrength and conſiſtency which is neceſſary to give it, humanly ſpeaking, the command of its own fortunes.

"Though, in reviewing the incidents of adminiſtration, I am unconſcious of intentional error; I am, nevertheleſs, too ſenſible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beſeech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I ſhall alſo carry with me the hope that my country will never ceaſe to view them with indulgence; and, that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its ſervice with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be conſigned to oblivion, as myſelf muſt ſoon be to the manſions of reſt.

"Relying on its kindneſs in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it, which is ſo natural to a man, who views in it the native ſoil of himſelf and his progenitors for ſeveral generations; I anticipate with pleaſing expectation that retreat, in which I promiſe myſelf to realiſe, without alloy, the ſweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midſt of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws, under a free government, the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I truſt, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers."

"G. WASHINGTON."

United States, Sep. 17, 1796.

It was not enough for the French party to have ſucceeded in diſguſting the Preſident with the government, they were deſirous of getting a ſucceſſor appointed who ſhould be of their own party; and, with this view, they not only endeavoured to influence the electors in favour of Mr. Jefferſon, but to caſt a degree of odium upon the government by reiterated complaints and threats of war. A Decree was ſolemnly paſſed by the Executive Directory, and was pompouſly delivered by the French Miniſter, Adet, to Mr. Pickering, the Secretary of State at Philadelphia, on the 27th of October, 1796.

DECREE:

"The Executive Directory, conſidering, that, if it becomes the faith of the French nation to reſpect treaties or conventions, which ſecure to the flags of ſome neutral or friendly powers commercial advantages (if they ſhould turn to the benefit of our enemies, either through the weakneſs of our allies or of neutrals, or through fear, through intereſted views, or through whatever motive) it would, *ipſo facto*, warrant the inexecution of the articles in which they were ſtipulated—decrees as follows:

'All neutral or allied powers ſhall, without delay, be notified, that the flag of the French Republic will treat neutral veſſels, either as to confiſcation, as to ſearches, or capture, in the ſame manner as they ſhall ſuffer the Engliſh to treat them.'

"The Miniſter of Foreign Relations is charged with the execution of the preſent reſolve, which ſhall not be printed.

(A true copy.) "CARNOT, Preſident."

The Decree was accompanied by the following Note, to which the Secretary of State gave the annexed Anſwer:

NOTE PRESENTED TO THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE BY CITIZEN ADET.

"The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, in conformity to the orders of his Government, has the honour of transmitting to the Secretary of State of the United States a Resolution, taken by the Executive of the French Republic, on the 11th Messidor, 4th year, relative to the conduct which the ships of war of the Republic are to hold toward neutral vessels: 'The flag of the Republic will treat the flag of neutrals in the same manner as they shall suffer it to be treated by the English.'

"The sentiments which the American Government have manifested to the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary do not permit him to doubt, that they will see in its true light this measure, as far as it may concern the United States; and that they will also feel that it is dictated by imperious circumstances, and approved by justice.

"Great Britain, during the war she has carried on against the Republic, has not ceased using every means in her power to add to that scourge, scourges still more terrible. She has roused the well-known liberality of the French nation to the detriment of that nation. Knowing how faithful France has always been in the observance of her treaties—knowing that it was a principle of the Republic to respect the flags of all nations, the British Government, from the beginning of the war, has caused neutral vessels, and, in particular, American vessels, to be detained, taken them into their ports, and dragged from them Frenchmen and French property. France, bound by a treaty with the United States, could find only a real disadvantage in the articles of that treaty, which caused to be respected as American property, English property found on board American vessels. They had a right, under this consideration, to expect that America would have taken steps in favour of her violated neutrality. One of the predecessors of the undersigned, in July 1793, applied on this subject to the government of the United

States, but he was not successful. Nevertheless, the National Convention, who, by their decree of the 9th of May, 1793, had ordered the seizure of enemy's property on board neutral vessels, declaring at the same time, that the measure should cease when the English should respect neutral flags, had excepted, on the 23d of the same month, the Americans from this general order. But the Convention was obliged soon to repeal the law, which contained this exception so favourable to the Americans: the manner in which the English conducted themselves, the manifest intention they had to stop the exportation of provisions from America to France rendered it unavoidable.

"The National Convention by this had restored the equilibrium of neutrality which England had destroyed; had discharged their duty in a manner justified by a thousand past examples, as well as by the necessity of the then existing moment. They might, therefore, to recall the orders they had given to seize the enemy's property on board American vessels, have waited till the British government had first definitively revoked the same order, a suspension only of which was produced by the embargo laid by Congress the 26th of March, 1794; but as soon as they were informed, that, under orders of the government of the United States, Mr. Jay was directed to remonstrate against the vexatious measures of the English, they gave orders, by the law of the 12th Nivose, 3d year, to the ships of war of the Republic to respect American vessels, and the Committee of Public Safety, in their explanatory Resolve of the 14th of the same month, hastened to sanction the same principle. The National Convention and the Committee of Public Safety had every reason to believe, that this open and liberal conduct would determine the United States to use every effort to put a stop to the vexations imposed upon their commerce, to the injury of the French Republic. They were deceived in this hope; and, though a treaty of friendship, navigation, and commerce, between Great Britain and the United States, had been signed six weeks

before France adopted the measure I have just spoken of, the English did not abandon the plan they had formed, and continued to stop and carry into their ports, all American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them.

"This conduct was the subject of a note which the undersigned addressed on the 7th Vendemaire (29th September, 1793, O. S.) to the Secretary of State. The remonstrances which it contained were founded on the duties of neutrality, upon the principles which Mr. Jefferson had laid down in his Letter to Mr. Pinkney, dated the 13th of September, 1794. Yet this Note had remained without an answer, though recalled to the remembrance of the Secretary of State by a dispatch of the 9th of Germinal, 4th year, (29th of March, 1796, O. S.) and American vessels bound to French ports, or returning from them, have still been seized by the English. Indeed more; they have added a new vexation to those they had already imposed upon Americans: they have impressed seamen from on board American vessels, and have thus found the means of strengthening their crews at the expense of the Americans, without the government of the United States having made known to the undersigned the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction for this violation of neutrality, so hurtful to the interest of France, as the undersigned hath set forth in his dispatches to the Secretary of State of the 9th of Germinal, 4th year, (29th of March, 1796, O. S.) 19th Germinal, (8th of April, 1796,) and 11th Floreal, (20th April, 1796,) which [illegible] without an answer.

"The French [illegible] finds itself, with respect to A[illegible] time, in circumstances similar to [illegible], and if it sees itself obliged to [illegible], and neutral powers in general, the [illegible] conduct they pursued, and to [illegible] the blame should fall upon the Brit[illegible] their conduct which the French Governm[illegible] to follow.

"The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary conceives it

to be his duty to remark to the Secretary of State, that the neutral governments, or the allies of the Republic, have nothing to fear as to the treatment of their flag by the French, since, in keeping within the bounds of their neutrality, they cause the right of that neutrality to be respected by the English, the Republic will respect them. But if, through weakness, partiality, or other motives, they should suffer the English to sport with that neutrality, and turn it to their advantage, could they then complain if France, to restore the balance of neutrality to its equilibrium, shall act in the same manner as the English? No, certainly; for the neutrality of a nation consists in granting to belligerent powers the same advantages; and that neutrality no longer exists, when, in the course of the war, that neutral nation grants to one of the belligerent powers advantages not stipulated by treaties anterior to the war, or suffers that power to seize upon them. The neutral government cannot then complain, if the other belligerent power will enjoy advantages, which its enemy enjoys, or if it seizes on them; otherwise that neutral government would deviate with respect to it from the line of neutrality, and would become its enemy.

"The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary thinks it useless further to develope these principles. He does not doubt that the Secretary of State feels all their force; and that the government of the United States will maintain from all violation, a neutrality which France has always respected, and will always respect, whenever her enemies do not make it turn to her detriment.

"The undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary embraces this opportunity of reiterating to the Secretary of State the assurance of his esteem; and informs him, at the same time, that he will cause this Note to be printed, in order to make publicly known the motives which, at the present juncture, influence the French Republic."

"Done at Philadelphia, 6th Brumaire, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, (27th of October, 1799, O. S.)"

(Signed) "P. A. ADET."

ANSWER TO CITIZEN ADET'S NOTE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

SIR, *Department of State, Nov. 1, 1796.*

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Note, of the 27th ult. covering a Decree of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, concerning the commerce of neutral nations.

"This Decree makes no distinction between neutral powers, who can claim only the rights secured to them by the law of nations, and others between whom and the French Republic treaties have imposed special obligations. Where no treaties exist, the Republic, by seizing and confiscating the property of their enemies, found on board neutral vessels, would only exercise an acknowledged right under the law of nations. If toward such neutral nations the French Republic has forborne to exercise this right the forbearance has been perfectly gratuitous. The United States, by virtue of their treaty of commerce with France, stand on different ground.

"In the year 1778, France voluntarily entered into a commercial treaty with us on principles of perfect reciprocity, and expressly stipulating *that free ships should make free goods:* that is, if France should be at war with any nation with whom the United States should be at peace, the goods, (except contraband) and the persons of her enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted) found on board French vessels, were also to be free from capture. That, on the other hand, if the United States should engage in war with any nation while France remained at peace—then the goods (except contraband) and the persons of her enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted) found on board French vessels were also to be free from capture: this is plainly expressed in the 23d article of that treaty, and demonstrates, that the reciprocity thereby stipulated was to operate at *different periods*; that is, at one time in favour of one of the contracting parties and of the other at another time. At the present time, the United States being at peace, they

poſſeſs, by the treaty, the right of carrying the goods of the enemies of France without ſubjecting them to capture. But what do the ſpirit of the decree of the Executive Directory and the current of your obſervations require? that the United States ſhould now, gratuitouſly renounce this right! And what reaſon is aſſigned for denying to us the enjoyment of this right? your own words furniſh the anſwer: 'France, *bound by treaty* to the United States, *could find only a real diſadvantage* in the article of that treaty, which cauſed to be reſpected as American property Engliſh property found on board American veſſels. This requiſition, and the reaſons aſſigned to ſupport it, alike excite ſurpriſe. The American Government, Sir, conſcious of the purity of its integrity, of its impartial obſervance of the laws of neutrality, and of its inviolable regard to treaties, cannot, for a moment, admit, that it has forfeited the right to claim a reciprocal obſervance of ſtipulations on the part of the French Republic, whoſe friendſhip, moreover, it has ever cultivated with perfect ſincerity. This right, formerly infringed by a decree of the National Convention, was recognized anew by the repeal of that decree; why it ſhould be again queſtioned we are at a loſs to determine. We are ignorant of any new reſtraints on our commerce by the Britiſh Government; on the contrary, we poſſeſs recent official information, that *no new orders have been iſſued*. The captures made by the Britiſh of American veſſels, having French property on board, are warranted by the law of nations: the force and operation of this law was contemplated by France and the United States when they formed their treaty of commerce, and their ſtipulation on this point was meant as an exception to an univerſal rule. Neither our weakneſs nor our ſtrength have any choice when the queſtion concerns the obſervance of a known rule of the law of nations.

"You are pleaſed to remark that the conduct of Great Britain, in capturing American veſſels bound to and from the French ports, had been the ſubject of a note, which, on the 29th of September, 1795, you addreſſed to the Secretary

of State, but which remained without an answer. Very sufficient reasons may be assigned for omission.—The subject, in all its aspects, had been already officially and publicly discussed, and the principles and ultimate measures of the United States, founded on their indisputable rights, were as publicly fixed. But if the subject had not, by the previous discussions, been already exhausted, can it be a matter of surprise that there should be a repugnance to answer a letter containing such insinuations as these: 'It must, then, be clear to every man, who will discard prejudice, love, hatred, and, in a word, all the passions which lead judgment astray, that the French Republic would have a right to complain, when the American Government suffered the English to interrupt the commercial relations which exist between her and the United States, if, by a *perfidious condescension*, it permitted the English to violate a right, which it ought, *for its honour and interest*, to defend; if, under the *cloak of neutrality*, it presented to England *a poignard, to cut the throat of its faithful ally!* if, in fine, *partaking in the tyrannical and homicidal rage of Great Britain*, it *concurred* to plunge the people of France into the horrors of famine?' For the sake of preserving harmony, silence was preferred to a comment upon these insinuations.

"You are, also, pleased to refer to your letters of March and April last, relative to impressing of American seamen by British ships, and complain, that the Government of the United States had not made known to you the steps they had taken to obtain satisfaction. This, sir, was a matter which concerned only that government as an independant nation; we were not bound to render an account to any other, of the measures we deemed proper for the protection of our own citizens, so long as there was not the slightest ground to suspect that the government ever acquiesced in any aggression.

"But permit me to recur to the subject of the decree of

the Executive Directory; as before obſerved, we are officially informed, that the Britiſh government have iſſued no orders for capturing the veſſels of the United States—We are alſo officially informed, that on the appearance of the notification of that decree, the miniſter of the United States, at Paris, applied for information —' Whether orders were iſſued for the ſeizure of neutral veſſels; and was informed, that no ſuch order was iſſued, and further, that none ſuch would be iſſued in caſe the Britiſh did not ſeize our veſſels.' This communication, from the Miniſter of the United States at Paris to their Miniſter in London, was dated the 28th of Auguſt. But the decree of the Directory bears date the 14th Meſſidor, anſwering to the 2d of July. Theſe circumſtances, together with ſome obſervations in your Note, leave the American Government in a ſtate of uncertainty of the real intentions of the government of France. Allow me to aſk, whether in the actual ſtate of things, our commerce is conſidered as liable to ſuffer any new reſtrictions on the part of the French Republic? Whether the reſtraints now exerciſed by the Britiſh Government are conſidered as of a nature to juſtify a denial of thoſe rights which are pledged to us by our treaty with your nation? Whether orders have been actually given to the ſhips of war and privateers of the French Republic to capture the veſſels of the United States? And what, if they exiſt, are the preciſe terms of thoſe orders?

"Theſe queſtions, ſir, you will ſee, are highly intereſting to the United States. It is with extreme concern that the government feels itſelf reduced to the neceſſity of aſking an explanation of this nature; and if it ſhall be informed, that a new line of conduct is to be adopted toward this country, on the ground of the decree referred to, its ſurpriſe will equal its regret, that principles ſhould now be queſtioned, which, after repeated diſcuſſions, both here and in France, have been demonſtrated to be founded, as we conceive, in the obligations of impartial neutrality, of ſtipulations by treaty, and of the law of nations. I hope, ſir,

you will find it convenient, by an early answer, to remove the suspense in which the government of the United States is now held on the questions above stated.

"I shall close this Letter by one remark on the singularity of your causing the publication of your note. As it concerned the United States, it was properly addressed to its government, to which alone pertained the right of communicating it in such time and manner, as it shall think fit, to the citizens of the United States.

"I am, sir, &c.

"TIMOTHY PICKERING."

"To M. Adet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic."

Philadelphia, Nov. 3, 1796.

Whilst citizen Adet was thus endeavouring to rouse the French party in America, by his inflammatory appeals, the Directory calculated so strongly upon being able to influence the election, and get a president chosen from among their friends, that they refused to acknowledge the ambassador, appointed by the existing government, to reside at Paris. They were, however, disappointed, and Mr. John Adams, of what was called, in France, the English party, was chosen to the chief magistracy.

CHAPTER XXII.

Moderation of the new American Government.—Capture of American Veſſels by the French.—Meſſrs. Pinckney, Marſhall, and Gerry, ſent to Paris, as Envoys, to adjuſt exiſting Differences.—Talleyrand refuſes to receive them officially.—They are inveigled into a very ſtrange Intrigue.—The Account they publiſhed of this extraordinary Tranſaction.—The American Envoys quit Paris in diſguſt.—Ferment in America on the Ambaſſadors making their Report.—Energetic Language of the Secretary Pickering on the Conduct of the French Government.

PRINCIPLES of extreme moderation marked the conduct of the new American government; and, though the corſairs of France ſeized upon all American veſſels, and condemned them upon the moſt frivolous pretences, the Philadelphian Government did not make repriſal, but hoped to bring the enemy to reaſon by amicable negociation. An embaſſy, conſiſting of the envoys extraordinary, was ſent to France in the ſummer of 1797, with full powers to adjuſt the differences between the two governments; and the whole ſpirit of their inſtructions were conformable to the enſuing paragraph.

"Conſcious integrity authoriſes the government to inſiſt, that no blame or cenſure be, directly or indirectly, imputed to the United States. But, on the other hand, however exceptionable in the view of our own Government, and in the eyes of an impartial world may have been the conduct of France, yet ſhe may be unwilling to acknowledge any aggreſſions, and we do not wiſh to wound her feelings or

to excite resentment. It will, therefore, be best to adopt on this point the principle of the British treaty, and 'terminate our differences in such manner, as, without referring to the merits of our respective complaints and pretensions, may be the best calculated to produce mutual satisfaction and good understanding.' "

Upon the arrival of the ministers, PINCKNEY, MARSHALL, and GERRY at Paris, they were to obtain an audience of the French minister for foreign affairs, but they could only obtain permission to pay him a private visit to deliver their full powers. Those powers the Minister perused, and put in his pocket, but would neither present the ambassadors to the Directory, or receive them officially himself. After the envoys had been sometime left to puzzle themselves as to what line of conduct the French designed, or that they should be obliged to pursue, a person in a respectable situation (Mr. W.) called upon them, to tell them that another respectable person (Mr. X.) would call upon them; and when Mr. X. did call, he told them that he was authorised by Mr. Y. who was directed by the minister Talleyrand, to inform them that the Directors were very angry with America, but he wished to bring about a reconciliation; and, as they all wanted pocket-money very much, if the envoys would give the Minister 50,000l. to divide between him and the Directors, and would give 32,000,000 of florins for 16,000,000 worth of Dutch rescriptions, held by France; he would undertake to mediate a peace, [illegible] to appease the wrath of their Republican ma-[illegible] The Americans, unhacknied in the ways [illegible] found themselves to be bamboozled by

thefe unacredited fwindlers for about ten days, in the courfe of which they were frequently told, that the deftruction of England was inevitable; that, therefore, the arts of that nation would go over to America, if fhe was wife enough to fecure the forbearance of France; that, if fhe fhould be weak enough to place any reliance upon the friendfhip of England, the fate of Venice would certainly overtake her; and that they might form fome opinion of what would be the confequence of provoking the refentment of the Directors, by the treatment that the Portuguefe ambaffador had received a few days before. He, they were told, had been fent about his bufinefs, with the infulting intelligence, that an army fhould follow upon his heels, till it got poffeffion of the whole of his country.

Talleyrand has attempted to difavow his connexion with the inftruments of this intrigue; but, notwithftanding all the art with which it was managed on their part, and the inertnefs of the incautious Americans, it will be very difficult to reconcile the innocence of the Minifter for Foreign Affairs, with his having difpatched Mr. Z. juft at the time when the Envoys had refufed to treat with W. X. Y.; and, when he himfelf makes the identical propofal to fill the Dutch refcriptions.

It was as the moment when peace was firft concluded with the Emperor, that Talleyrand faw the probable failure of his fcheme with regard to the bribe and the loan, and he hoped to terrify the Envoys into fubmiffion, by refenting to them, in a ftrong light, the new fituation that their country was placed in, in confequence of France having her forces difengaged. The fubfequent Narrative of the miniffers

will be ſufficient to characteriſe the whole tranſaction:

"On the 27th of October, about twelve we received another viſit from M. X. He immediately mentioned the great event announced in the paper, and then ſaid, that ſome propoſals from us had been expected on the ſubject on which we had before converſed; that the Directory were becoming impatient, and would take a decided courſe with regard to America if we could not ſoften them. We anſwered, that on that ſubject we had already ſpoken explicitly, and had nothing farther to add. He mentioned the change in the ſtate of things, which had been produced by the peace with the Emperor, as warranting an expectation of a change in our ſyſtem; to which we only replied, that this event had been expected by us, and would not, in any degree, affect our conduct. M. X. urged, that the Directory had, ſince this peace, taken a higher and more decided tone with reſpect to us and all other neutral nations than had been before taken; that it had been determined that all nations ſhould aid them, or be conſidered and treated as their enemies. We anſwered, that ſuch an effect had already been contemplated by us as probable, and had not been overlooked when we gave to this propoſition our decided anſwer; and further, that we had no powers to negociate for a loan of money; that our government had not contemplated ſuch a circumſtance in any degree whatever; that, if we ſhould ſtipulate a loan, it would be a perfectly void thing, and would only deceive France and expoſe ourſelves. M. X. again expatiated on the power and violence of France: he urged the danger of our ſituation, and preſſed the policy of ſoftening them, and of thereby obtaining time. The preſent men, he ſaid, would, very probably, not continue long in power; and it would be very unfortunate, if thoſe who might ſucceed, with better diſpoſition towards us, ſhould find the two nations in actual war. We anſwered, that if war ſhould be made on us by France, it would be ſo obviouſly forced on us, that on a

change of men, peace might be made with as much facility as the present differences could be accommodated: we added, that all America deprecated a war with France; but that our present situation was more ruinous to us than a declared war would be; that at present our commerce was plundered and unprotected; but that if war was declared, we should seek the means of protection. M X. said, he hoped we should not form a connexion with Britain; and we answered, that we hoped so too; that we had all been engaged in our revolution war, and felt its injuries; that it had made the deepest impression on us; but that, if France should attack us, we must seek the best means of self-defence. M. X. again returned to the subject of money: said he, "Gentlemen, you do not speak to the point—it is money: it is expected that you will offer money"—We said we had spoken to that point very explicitly: we had given an answer. "No," said he, "you have not; what is your answer?" "We replied, it is no; no; not a sixpence." He again called our attention to the dangers which threatened our country, and asked, if it would not be prudent, though we might not make a loan to the nation, to interest an influential friend in our favour. He said, we ought to consider what men we had to treat with; that they disregarded the justice of our claims, and the reasoning with which we might support them; that they disregarded their own colonies; and considered themselves as perfectly invulnerable with respect to us; that we could only acquire an interest among them by a judicious application of money; and it was for us to consider, whether the situation of our country did not require that these means should be resorted to, We observed, that the conduct of the French Government was such as to leave us much reason to fear, that, should we give the money, it would effect no good purpose, and would not produce a just mode of thinking with respect to us. He said, that, when we employed a lawyer, we gave him a fee, without knowing whether the cause would be gained or no; but it was necessary to have one, and we paid for his ser-

vices, whether those services were successful or not: so, in the present state of things, the money must be advanced for the good offices the individuals were to render, whatever might be the effect of those good offices. We told him, there was no parallel in the cases; that a lawyer, not being to render the adjudgment, could not command success: he could only endeavour to obtain it; and, consequently, we could only pay him for his endeavours: but the Directory could decide on the issue of our negotiation. It had only to order that no more American vessels should be seized, and to direct those now in custody to be restored, and there could be no opposition to the order. He said, that all the members of the Directory were not disposed to receive our money: that Merlin, for instance, was paid from another quarter, and would touch no part of the douceur which was to come from us. We replied, that we understood that Merlin was paid by the owners of the privateers; and he nodded an assent to the fact. He proceeded to press this subject with vast perseverence. He told us that we paid money to obtain peace with the Algerines and with the Indians; and that it was doing no more to pay France for peace. To this it was answered, that when our government commenced a treaty with either Algiers or the Indian tribes, it was understood that money was to form the basis of the treaty, and was its essential article; that the whole nation knew it, and was prepared to expect it as a thing of course; but, that in treating with France, our government had supposed that the proposition, such as he spoke of, would, if made by us, give mortal offence.

"He asked, if our government did not know, that nothing was to be obtained here without money? We replied, that our government had not even suspected such a state of things.—He appeared surprised at it, and said, there was not an American in Paris who could not have given that information. We told him that the letters of our Minister had indicated a very contrary temper in the government of France, and had represented it as acting entirely

upon principle, and as feeling a very pure and disinterested affection for America. He looked somewhat surprised, and said, briskly, to General Pinckney; "Well, sir, you have been a long time in France and in Holland—what do you think of it?" General Pinckney answered, that he considered M. X. and M. Y. as men of truth, and of consequence; he could have but one opinion on the subject.—He stated that Hamburgh and other states of Europe were obliged to buy a peace; and that it would be equally for our interest to do so. Once more he spoke on the danger of a breach with France, and of her power, which nothing could resist. We told him, that it would be in vain for us to deny her power, or the solicitude we felt to avoid a contest with it; that no nation estimated her power more highly than America, or wished more to be on amicable terms with her; but that one object was still dearer to us than the friendship of France—which was our national independence: that America had taken a neutral station; she had a right to take it; no nation had a right to force us out of it; that to lend a sum of money to a belligerent power, abounding in everything requisite for war but money, was to relinquish our neutrality, and take part in the war; to lend this money under the lash and coercion of France, was to relinquish the government of ourselves, and to submit to a foreign government imposed upon us by force; that we would at least make one manly struggle before we thus surrendered our national independence; that our case was different from one of the minor nations in Europe; they were unable to maintain their independence, and did not expect to do so: America was a great, and, so far as concerned her self-defence, a powerful nation; she was able to maintain her independence; and must deserve to lose it, if she permitted it to be wrested from her; that France and Britain had been at war for near fifty years of the last hundred, and might probably be at war for fifty years of the century to come; that America had no motives which could induce her to involve herself in those wars;

and that if she now preserved her neutrality and her independence, it was most probable that she would not in future be afraid, as she had been for four years past; but if she now surrendered her rights of self-government to France, or permitted them to be torn from her, she could not expect to recover them, or to remain neutral in any future war. He said that France had lent us money during our Revolution war, and only required that we should now exhibit the same friendship for her. We answered, that the cases were very different: that America solicited a loan from France, and left her at liberty to grant or refuse it; but that France demanded it from America, and left us no choice on the subject. We also told him, there was another difference in the cases; that the money was lent by France for great national and French objects; it was lent to maim a rival, and an enemy whom she hated; that the money, if lent by America, would not be for any American objects, but to enable France to extend still further her conquests. The conversation continued for nearly two hours; and the public and private advance of money was pressed and repressed in a variety of forms. At length M. X. said that he did not blame us; that our determination was certainly proper, if we could keep it: but he showed decidedly his opinion to be that we could not keep it. He said that he would communicate, as nearly as he could, our conversation to the Minister, or to M. Y. to be given by him to the Minister; we are not certain which. We then separated. On the 22d of October, M. Z. a French gentleman, of respectable character, informed Mr. Gerry, that M. Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Relations, who professed to be well disposed towards the United States, had expected to have seen the American Ministers frequently in their private capacities, and to have conferred with them individually on the objects of their mission; and had authorised M. Z. to make this communication to Mr. Gerry. The latter sent for his colleagues, and a conference was held with M. Z. on the subject, in which

General Pinckney and General Marshall expressed their opinions, that, not being acquainted with M. Talleyrand, they could not with propriety call on him; but that, according to the custom of France, he might expect this of Mr. Gerry, from a previous acquaintance in America. This Mr. Gerry reluctantly complied with on the 23d, and, with M. Z. called on M. Talleyrand, who not being then at his office, appointed the 28th for the interview. After the first introduction, M. Talleyrand began the conference. He said, that the Directory had passed an arrête, which he offered for perusal, in which they had demanded of the Envoys an explanation of some parts, and a reparation for others, of the President's speech to Congress of the 16th of May last: he was sensible, he said, that difficulties would exist on the part of the Envoys, relative to the demand: but that by their offering money, he thought he could prevent the effect of the arrête. M. Z. at the request of Mr. Gerry, having stated the Envoys have no such powers; M. Talleyrand replied, they can in such case take a power on themselves; and proposed that they should make a loan. Mr. Gerry then addressed M. Talleyrand distinctly, in English, which he said he understood, and stated, that the uneasiness of the Directory, resulting from the President's speech, was a subject unconnected with the objects of the mission; that M. Barras, in his speech to Mr. Munroe, on his recal, had expressed himself in a manner displeasing to the Government and citizens of the United States; that the President, as the Envoys conceived, had made such observations on M. Barras's Speech as were necessary to vindicate the honour of the United States; that this was not considered by our government as a subject of dispute between the two nations; that, having no instructions respecting it, we could not make any explanations, or reparations relating to it; and that M. Talleyrand himself was sufficiently acquainted with the constitution of the United States to be convinced of the truth of these observations.

"Mr. Gerry further ſtated, that the powers of the Envoys, as they conceived, were adequate to the diſcuſſion and adjuſtment of all points of real difference between the two nations; that they could alter and amend the treaty, or, if neceſſary, form a new one; that the United States were anxiouſly deſirous of removing all cauſes of complaint between themſelves and France, and of renewing their former friendſhip and intercourſe on terms which would be mutually honourable and beneficial to the two nations, but not on any other terms; that, as to a loan, we had no powers whatever to make one; that if we were to attempt it we ſhould deceive himſelf and the Directory likewiſe, which, as men of honour, we could not do; but that we could ſend one of our number for inſtructions on this propoſition, if deemed expedient, provided that the other objects of the negotiation could be diſcuſſed and adjuſted; that, as he had expreſſed a deſire to confer with the envoys individually, it was the wiſh of Mr. Gerry that ſuch a conference ſhould take place, and their opinions thus be aſcertained, which he conceived correſponded with his own in the particulars mentioned. M. Talleyrand, in anſwer, ſaid, he ſhould be glad to confer with the other envoys individually, but that this matter about the money muſt be ſettled directly, without ſending to America; that he would not communicate the arrête for a week; and that if we could adjuſt the difficulty reſpecting the ſpeech, an application would nevertheleſs go to the United States for a loan. A courier arrived at this moment from Italy, and M. Talleyrand appearing impatient to read the letters, Mr. Gerry took leave of him immediately. He followed to the door, and deſired M. Z. to repeat to Mr. Gerry what he, M. Talleyrand, had ſaid to him. Mr. Gerry then returned to his quarters with M. Z. took down the particulars of this interview, as before ſtated, ſent for Generals Pinckney and Marſhall, and read it to them, in the preſence of M. Z. who confirmed it. Generals Pinckney and Marſhall then de-

fired M. Z. to inform M. Talleyrand that they had nothing to add to this conference, and did not wish that the arrête might be delayed on their account."

It would be endless to detail the whole system of chicanery that the ministers suffered until they took the resolution to hear no more. Messrs. Pickering and Marshall refused to continue in France after the insulting treatment that they had received during four months, and in February 1798 returned to America. Mr. Gerry waited the orders of his government, and was recalled, after having exposed himself to be inveigled by Talleyrand's professions of peculiar esteem.

A general ferment took place in America when the Report of the ambassadors was laid before the legislative bodies, and the government made every preparation for maintaining their right by war; the French party was, however, sufficiently strong to throw considerable obstacles in the way, and, nothwithstanding the strong proofs to the contrary, to persuade a great part of the people that the Directory were desirous of peace.

There perhaps, never was a stronger instance of a foreign power directing the affairs of a state against its own government and interest than this. The honour and independence of the country, as well as the stability and integrity of the government, demanded the punishment of the insults that had been offered to the Ministers; but a base and dastardly attachment to peace deprived the people of their understandings and prepared them to believe the falsehoods circulated by the emissaries of France. Still the government assumed a posture of defence: General Washington was called to take the command

of the army, and a naval force was ordered for the protection of the trade. The result was well ſtated by the ſecretary, Pickering, in a report laid before Congreſs, wherein he obſerves, that, "After America had borne a long ſeries of inſults and injuries with patient endurance, the Government of France expected its final ſubmiſſion." "Our reſiſtance," he adds, "has excited its ſurpriſe, and has certainly increaſed its reſentment—With ſome ſoothing expreſſions is heard the voice of wounded pride—Warmly profeſſing its deſire of reconcilation it gives no proof of its ſincerity; but proofs in abundance, demonſtrate that it is not ſincere. From ſtanding erect, and in that commanding attitude requiring implicit obedience, cowering, it renounces ſome of its unfounded demands. But I hope, we ſhall remember, "that the tiger crouches before he leaps on his prey."

There was evidently no want of acrimony between the two governments, but their diſtance prevented them from being brought into contact with each other, and the conteſt ended in a war of words.

CHAPTER XXIII.

State of Affairs in France under the Directory.—Intrigues of M. Talleyrand.—Conduct of the returned Emigrants.—Hopes of the exiled Royalists.—The Fallacy of their Expectations, from their impolitic Conduct.—Their forlorn Condition.—Disappointments of the Parties in the War.—Motives and Manoeuvres of the English Government to effect a Union between Great Britain and Ireland.—Money Matters.

PARIS, under the Directory, became the centre of intrigues, the moſt unprincipled and corrupt, and the features of ſtern Republican juſtice degenerated into ſmiles of ſycophancy and favouritiſm. Monſieur Talleyrand Perigord, ex-biſhop of Autun, evinced a ſtrong predilection for the re-eſtabliſhment of prieſtly government, and ſoon attached to him a private ſynod of his ancient friends, who demonſtrated a grateful willingneſs to pay before-hand the ſervices he was about to do them, by a diſcreet expoſition and uſe of Solomon's Proverb—"Money anſwereth all things." The emigrant prieſts and nobles, who had, in vain, ſued, in the name of juſtice, for permiſſion to return to their country now found the way ſmoothed by the cupidity of the oily-tongued miniſter and his ſpeculating maſters. The ſufferings which theſe unfortunate perſons had borne, had reduced many of them to very humiliating circumſtances, and though great numbers of them received ſmall penſions from the governments where they had taken refuge, it was deſirable to return home upon any terms. Numbers of them took meaſures for turning the vices of the government to their own

account, and the proper application of money procured the erasure of their names from the lists of emigrants.

The family of the late King augured favourably for their cause by these events, but they displayed as little judgment in this as in any other instance. It was a love of self, and a very natural love of self, that induced these emigrants to flee from the long suffering they had endured, to seek for rest and tranquillity in the bosom of their country; and it was not in the nature of things that any great number of those persons would again expose themselves to more severe or even similar sufferings in a hopeless adventure: yet the princes of that family, and the courts to which they were allied, dreamed and constantly dreamed, of counter revolutions being effected by means of these emigrants. It was argued that the crimes of the governments afforded them opportunities of adducing proofs of its wickedness to the people, and interesting them in its overthrow; but it was forgotten, that each individual emigrant had an interest in concealing those crimes, and the moment of their exposure would destroy the validity of his passport.

There was, however, another instance of mistaken policy, which was much more fatal to the Bourbons, and rendered their cause perfectly hopeless, which was, a resolution maintained both by them and their adherents, to disturb all the possessions that had been made in consequence of the revolution, and to restore all the lands to their true owners. A more impolitic determination could not have been entered into, as it united all existing interests against the restoration, and

ſtill limited their means to ſimple conqueſt, which had ſo repeatedly failed. Partial diſturbances, however, ſtill continued in the Weſtern departments, and two celebrated chiefs, Frotté and Georges contrived to keep a powerful army of Royaliſts together, who fought in the name of Louis XVIII. This prince had found an aſylum in the dominions of Ruſſia; his brother, the Count Artois, and ſome of the other princes had taken refuge in Great Britain, and ſome of the family reſided in Germany, ſo that they ſcarcely retained the ſemblance of a court. The Allies diſregarded them in their treaties for peace, and the war, which, in its commencement, was pretended to be undertaken for their intereſt, had proceeded far enough to ſhew that the Combined Powers had uſed that family as a mere ſtalking horſe, without deſigning to ſecure for them a ſingle colony, a ſingle ſhip of their navy, or any indemnification whatever. Many of the ſincereſt Royaliſts became politically attached to the Republic from this conſideration, without ſuffering themſelves to be hurried further by their ſelf love than a prudent attention to all the circumſtances warranted, and hopes were encouraged by the Bourbons and their friends, from want of reſolution to abandon them, more then from any reaſonable ground whereon they could reſt.

All the parties who had originally commenced the war, had now ſeen the objects flee before them for which it had been undertaken. The Bourbons were all become ſubjects in foreign countries, inſtead of eſtabliſhing an unlimited deſpotiſm in their family; the Allies, who had calculated upon the diſmemberment of France were now content to act purely upon the defenſive, and deemed themſelves more than

happy if they could ſecure the integrity of their own dominions, and the French inſtead of giving liberty to the ſtates whoſe governments they had inſulted and attacked, had increaſed the arbitrary power of thoſe governments, and even exchanged the ſpirit of liberty, which they had themſelves once poſſeſſed, for a tyranny the moſt unbluſhing and offenſive. Amidſt the convulſion, the Directory kept up the menace of invaſion againſt England, and the attention of that power continued to be occupied in ſtrengthening itſelf in caſe of attack. As a mean of conſolidating its power, the Engliſh Government exerted its endeavours to unite the legiſlative authorities of Great Britain and Ireland in one body. The policy of this meaſure was, by giving equal intereſt to all parts of the empire to unite all in its defence, and it would be fortunate for mankind if Government were always actuated by views equally wiſe and equitable.

This object was effected by the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, and we are the more happy in being able to acknowledge its merits, as there are ſo few of the acts of that adminiſtration which we think entitled to praiſe. It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed, that becauſe the meaſure was both wiſe and juſt, the good citizens of either London or Dublin ſuffered it to paſs without oppoſition. It was ſuggeſted by the *miniſter*, and ſuch was the unhappy ſpirit that had gone abroad in thoſe times, that great multitudes of people both in Great Britain and Ireland, acquired the title of patriots, for no other reaſon, than becauſe they quarrelled with every thing, that the miniſter did, whether it were right or wrong. The people of Ireland were told, that, if their repreſentatives met at London inſtead of Dublin, they would be

ruined beyond recovery. They had, it was acknowledged, ſuffered all the horrors of diſſention and diſcord, but they had the ſatisfaction of knowing all theſe horrors were their own; they would, on the contrary, if the Union were to take place, have to charge their misfortunes upon a parliament ſitting in another country; and, after ſubmitting to ſuch indelible diſgrace, they might bid farewell to all ideas of independence. Independence was the catchword, and as ſoon as the Foxites in England ſent it abroad, it flew round Ireland, from borough to borough, like the alarming intelligence of a fall in the market price of votes; and all the independent members, and all the freemen who carried on the traffic of ſelling ſeats in Parliament, ſet up a univerſal ſhout, that *the liberties of Ireland were in danger*

The Foxites of London and the buyers and ſellers of Dublin, imagined that they were greatly embarraſſing the miniſtry, by the obſtacles that they threw in the way of this plan; but Pitt, who was in the ſecret, only laughed at them, for he knew that he could buy up all the patriotiſm that annoyed him, and prove to the good citizens that they had only been acting the part of puppets in the hands of more cunning knaves than themſelves. Much credit has been given to Lord Caſtlereagh, who was appointed principle operator in conducting this intrigue, for the adroitneſs with which he ſmoothed down the difficulties as they aroſe; but thoſe praiſes have been very undeſervedly beſtowed; the noble Lord required no talent ſuperior to what is neceſſary to a huckſter at a fair. The great parliamentary leaders of Ireland, found that they could bring their intereſt to a better market, if they threw difficulties

in the way of the minister, than if they fairly acknowledged the propriety of the measure; and hence they clamoured against the innovation as injurious to their country. To manage this, the Lord of the Intrigue had nothing to do, but to make the best bargain he could; and, accordingly, (as was lately declared in the House of Commons) as soon as he had distributed a sufficient quantum of pensions and reversions amongst them, they shed their tender love of Ireland as a lobster casts its shell, and they agreed to vote for the Union, as the only measure capable of saving the Empire!

Whilst the English Government was arming against its enemy in this way, a silent and irresistible foe was preparing to attack it, by means that were incapable of being counteracted. The pressure of the war and the demand for money had been so great in England for four or five years, that the capitalists hardly knew how to be extravagant enough in their demands for the loan of their wealth. The interest, or hire, or, as it might properly be called, the rent of money, became so high, that the nation could at one time only get £47 sterling for £100 stock, thus rendering itself liable to pay upwards of forty shillings in the pound for the principal, besides upwards of six per cent for its hire! The mischievious consequences of this career were so obvious, that, Mr. Pitt took the resolution of raising a great part of the supplies within the year by taxes, instead of loans. As a measure of finance this was an act of prudence, but it brought a sudden pressure upon the people that reduced them to great inconvenience and distress. The sudden levy of this extraordinary demand raised the price of all commodities beyond their usual price, and

excited a belief among the trading part of the people, that the prices would rife to an enormous height; this perfuafion induced numbers of fpeculators to lay out all the property that they could mufter in the purchafe of corn, and promoted the very high prices, which would not have exifted but for its own efforts. The fpeculative principle, which is innocent enough, nay highly ufeful, in a commercial country, was, in this inftance, converted into a fcourge of the moft afflicting kind to the nation, by the facility with which fictitious capitals were raifed and converted into corn; not for the purpofe of fupplying the wants of the country, but of withdrawing it from the ufe of the people, to ftore it up till it could fetch the higheft poffible prices. Paper currency was created to an enormous amount, by the confidence that commercial men agreed to repofe in each other, and accomodation bills paffed from hand to hand with all the value attached to them of fterling gold, and the ftorers of corn were enabled to keep their ftocks from market without the leaft inconvenience. Provifions of all kinds, by thefe means, became exceffively dear, and the Government found it extremely difficult to fuppref the refentment of the people.

The French Government had poffeffed an advantage in financial affairs which gave it a decided fuperiority over its antagonifts, for it had contrived to make the chief burden of the war fall upon other countries, as will appear by the following enumeration.

ENUMERATION

Of the CONTRIBUTIONS, CONFISCATIONS, *and* REQUISITIONS, *by the French, on the Countries conquered by them.*

	Livres.	£.Sterling.
Territory of his Imperial Majesty	1,402,350,000	56,094,000
Ditto of his Prussian Majesty	5,980,000	239,200
Holland	873,745,000	34,949,800
Various territories, from Holland to Alsace; particularly the country between the Moselle, Meuse, and Rhine	145,780,000	5,831,200
Triers	6,120,000	244,800
Palatinate	12,462,000	498,480
Deux Ponts	4,455,000	178,200
Suabia	57,758,408	2,310,337
Dutchy of Bergen	2,464,000	98,560
The Empire; second Campaign	464,061,375	18,562,455
Wirtemburg	13,031,100	521,244
Bavaria	16,970,000	678,800
Baden	3,345,000	131,800
Milan, or Cisapline Republic	284,000,000	11,360,000
Sardinia; a considerable tract of territory		
Modena	10,400,000	416,000
Lucca	5,000,000	200,000
Parma	3,850,000	154,000
Naples	150,000	6,000
Genoa	4,000,000	160,000
Carried over	3,315,921,883	£132,634,876

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Brought forward	3,315,921,883	132,634,876
Tuſcany	8,000,000	320,000
Imperial territory		
Venice.....	172,045,788	6,881,832
Spain.....	30,000,000	1,200,000
Portugal.....	36,000,000	1,440,000
Switzerland.....	10,300,000	412,000
Hamburg.....	7,000,000	280,000
Bremen and Lubec.....	3,000,000	120,000
Total.....	3,582,267.671	£143,288,708

CHAPTER XXIV.

Interesting Particulars regarding Buonaparté.—Anecdote of his Generosity to the Hostages of the Emperor.—His Contempt of the Orders of the Directory.—His irritability of Temper during the Discussions at Leoben.—An Instance of his Desire of Conquest, in sending Gentili to take Possession of the Greek Islands.—Marchesi, the Singer, ordered to quit Milan, for not accepting an Invitation of Madame Buonaparté.—Buonaparté procures a patriotic Italian Nobleman to be Shot.—Various Incidents which occurred during the Journey of Buonaparté from Italy to Paris.—Resemblance between him and Alexander.—Fête prepared for him at Lausanne.—Singular Observation of a Swiss Youth to Buonaparté.—Conversation of Buonaparté with a Swiss Landlord.—Anecdote of him and Count Fersen.—His Respect for military Authority.—The interesting Ceremony of Buonaparte's Presentation to the Directory.—His Speech to the Directors.—Conclusion of the Entertainment.—His Election as a Member of the National Institute.—His Conduct at the Anniversary of the 21st of January.—Unsomeness of his Situation whilst he remained at Paris.

IN an elaborate Historical Work, which combines many tedious and desultory details, a recapitulation of facts is frequently requisite, that the memory may not be burthened by a long continued succession of events, and that the attention may be fixed on the more important transactions that are recorded; but, it is unnecessary to adopt this mode in the present instance, because its principal circumstances are strongly

characterized by their connexion with each other; and becauſe it has been endeavoured to heighten the character and import of theſe circumſtances, by bringing them forward, and placing them in the moſt ſtriking points of view, and thus, to preſent a ſcene in which the relative poſition of each object is eſſential to the effect of the whole. In the compoſition of a picture the artiſt firſt ſketches the moſt prominent features, becauſe they are the eſſential conſtituent parts of his deſign; and, if his outline be drawn with a due regard to the rules of his art, a ſingle glance will aſcertain the ſubject, and the intended effect will be produced. To improve the picture, he arranges his ſubordinate objects, ſo as to give the moſt accurate idea of the whole.

In proceeding to ſketch the biography of Buonaparté, the rapid ſucceſſion of important events have not afforded an opportunity of offering to the attention ſome facts which, notwithſtanding, are neceſſary to be noticed; they occurred from time to time under various circumſtances, and in different ſituations; and they are now introduced to illuſtrate the character and conduct of the Hero.

It is related, in proof of the liberality of Buonaparté, that, when the preliminaries of Leoben were ſigned, the Emperor ſent three of the principal nobility of his court as hoſtages, and that Buonaparté, having invited them to dine with him, ſaid to them on the deſſert being brought in, "Gentlemen, you are free.—Tell your Maſter that if his imperial word requires a pledge, you cannot ſerve as ſuch; and, if it require none, that you ought not."

Buonaparté's impatience of controul was often manifeſted during the period he held his appoint-

ment of the Directory.— At the time when he commenced the negociations which were concluded by the Peace of Leoben, he had determined not to return to Paris till he might appear there with the double eclat of a conqueror and a pacificator. He remained at the caſtle of Paſſeriano, near Udina, and in Italy, till the treaty was ſigned. He had frequently been recalled by the Directory, but he always neglected to notice their orders, and began to ſhew a degree of hauteur which little correſponded with his former apparent modeſty; he refuſed to accept any generals into his army whom he did not approve, and ſent home only ſo much of the contributions levied in Italy as he thought proper.

During the diſcuſſions at Leoben his irritability of temper often ſhewed itſelf. He was always treated with the greateſt deference by the plenipotentiaries, but he was frequently ſo much chagrined by the tedioufneſs of German forms, that he behaved to them very cavalierly: finding the firſt article of the propoſed Preliminaries to contain an acknowledgment of the French Republic, he exclaimed with indignant warmth, "The French Republic is like the ſun in the firmament, and blind are they who do not acknowledge its ſplendour." The article was immediately eraſed. At one time having, upon ſome account or other, ſuppoſed that his colleagues had not treated the Republic with ſufficient reſpect, or liſtened with ſufficient attention to his propoſals, he took up a china jar, that ſtood near him, and, daſhing it on the ground, exclaimed, "Since you provoke me, thus will I reduce you to powder." The Marquis de Gallo conducted himſelf with the greateſt addreſs and prudence, and ſo

much did he *dread* left the petulance of Buonaparté's temper might put an end to the negociations, that, one day, when the French General had haſtily quitted the room in a pet, he ran after him, but not being able to overtake him, ſaid, obſequiouſly, to one of his aides-de-camp, "Tell him, however, that I followed him to his carriage." Another day, after a very long debate, Buonaparté ſaid with great warmth, "Well then, I will carry my anſwer to Vienna."

His love of conqueſt may be obſerved in the pains that he took, after he had revolutionized Italy, to take poſſeſſion of the Greek Iſles that had belonged to the Republic of Venice. He ſent, from thence, a ſmall fleet with a handful of troops on board, commanded by General Gentili; and his letter to the Directory, giving an account of the ſucceſs of the expedition, contains ſome curious particulars, and ſhews, at the ſame time, how much he was flattered by conquering in the name of the Great Nation, thoſe inconſiderable iſlands, which are ſo celebrated in ancient lore. The following is an extract from his diſpatch:

"The 10th Meſſidor, our troops landed, and were received on ſhore by an immenſe crowd of people, who teſtified their joy by ſhouts of enthuſiaſm, ſuch as never fails to animate thoſe who recover their liberty. At the head of the people was their *Papa*, or firſt miniſter of religion, a well-informed man, and ſeemingly very old; he came up to General Gentili, and addreſſed him in theſe words—'Frenchmen, you will find in this iſland a people extremely ignorant of thoſe arts and ſciences which illuſtrate other nations; but deſpiſe them not on that account,

they may one day become again what they were before. Learn, in reading this book, to respect them.' The General opened the book, with great curiosity, which the *Papa* had presented to him, and was not a little surprised to see that it was the Odyssey of Homer.—The islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and St. Maure, have expressed the same ardent wishes for liberty, and hope that, under the protection of the Great Nation, they will recover their long-lost arts, sciences, and commerce.

The following anecdote has been instanced, as a memorial of Buonaparté's resentment of an affront. Its authenticity however is dubious. The celebrated singer Marchesi, who resided at Milan, near which place he had some property, was invited by Madame Buonaparté to dinner, when he was, no doubt, expected to entertain the company with his charming voice; being a great aristocrat, he refused the invitation; it was repeated, and he refused again; Buonaparté sent his commands for him to attend; he persisted in refusing, and soon after received an order to quit Milan in ten hours. After he had set out, he received another message, ordering him to retire to his country-house, about thirty miles from Milan, for six months., he remained there for that time, under a guard of six soldiers, whom he was obliged to maintain at his own expense.

A traveller of unquestionable impartiality (Mr. Holcroft,) who has lately furnished a very interesting work on the state of society and manners at Paris, from his own observations during a residence in that metropolis, and to whom English literature is indebted for several works that will ever be highly esteemed.

by that part of the public whofe admiration of talent and liberality of fentiment are fuperior to prejudice, has related a fact that cannot better be given than in his own words:

"I occafionally met" fays he, "feveral Italians (at Paris) moft of them people of rank, and fome who had been high in office: they all fpoke of Buonaparté with bitternefs; and related tales, which, if true, would prove him to have been a treacherous tyrant at the time he began to command in Italy.

"When Buonaparté firft came to Milan, profeffing himfelf the deliverer of a once great people, but now and long fince miferably enchained by prieftcraft and petty defpotifm, thofe who earneftly defired the emancipation and the happinefs of their county received him with open arms. One of them, a Milanefe nobleman of great influence, devoted his whole means and power to the caufe, which he fuppofed the French fincerely intended to promote; and, for that purpofe, in giving aid to Buonaparté, by whom he was then treated with the moft flattering diftinction.

"This nobleman had none but virtuous motives for his conduct; and he was, too foon, convinced that it was not for the caufe of freedom which Buonaparté, and the armies of France fought: the avarice of individuals, the plunder of rich and poor, and the worft of motives, which fhelfifhnefs, egotifm, and national vanity could infpire, were daily more and more apparent.

"After fome reverfe of fortune which the French fuftained in Italy, Buonaparté, once more, came to Milan; and the indignant patriot, inftead of again promoting the views of the Conqueror, openly upbraided him with his want of good faith, his total dereliction

from the cauſe of freedom, and the atrocities committed or countenanced by him. The affront was unpardonable. To reprove a man who had armies at his command, though it ſhewed a noble and virtuous fortitude, the loyal Milaneſe ſoon found was a fatal ſtep: Buonaparté cauſed him to be ſeized, put him under a guard, and ſent accuſations of him to the Directory, accompanied by pretended proofs that he was a traitor to freedom and to France. The end of this tragedy was, the death of the Italian; he was ſhot! and the paſſions of his enemy were ſhewn to be dangerous to the preſent and ominous to the future.

"This account I had from a man of rank and honour, an Italian, who aſſured me he abſolutely knew all that he had related to be true.

"The remembrance of the depredations committed by the French, or their Chief, in Italy, will not quickly die away."

Any obſervation upon this incident would be impertinent.

Buonaparté's journey, on quitting Italy, was marked by ſome intereſting occurrences

He ſet out with the ſimple equipage of a private gentleman, attended by two generals, two aides-de-camp, a ſecretary, and a phyſician. At Geneva he dined with the French Reſident, and, having been expected for ſome time, relays of horſes were waiting for him, on the road, and immenſe crowds of people were all in earneſt expectation to behold him. At Mondon, where he ſlept the night before, he had been received with great honors by the celebrated Colonel Weiſs, the bailiff of the place, a man well known by his political and philoſophical writings, by his zeal, and by his profound admiration of Buonaparté. Near

Avenche his carriage broke down, and he was obliged to walk for ſome miles. One among the crowd of ſpectators who aſſembled to ſee him, thus ſpeaks of him:

"I had an opportunity of being very near to him, and he ſeemed to me always to be talking to thoſe around him as if he was thinking about ſomething elſe: he has the mark of great ſenſe in his countenance, and an air of profound meditation, which reveals nothing that is paſſing within; he ſeems conſtantly big with deep thought, which will, ſome day or other, influence the deſtinies of Europe. A burgeſs of Morat, a man about five feet ten inches high, obſerved with aſtoniſhment the figure of the General. 'How ſmall a ſtature for ſo great a man!' cried he, loud enough to be heard by one of the aides-de-camp. 'He is exactly the height of Alexander,' ſaid ſome one. 'Yes,' ſaid the aid-de-camp, 'and that is not the only trait of reſemblance.'"

"At Faubroun, a little village, nine miles from Berne, he ſupped with a large party, who had, out of curioſity and reſpect, accompanied his train; and after that he went on to Soleure. All the towns through which he paſſed in the night were illuminated. At Baſle he ſtopped ſome hours, walked round the town, and received a long and fulſome addreſs from the burgomaſter. In paſſing through Lauſanne, they had prepared a great fête for him, which he did not ſeem to enjoy; three citizens ſtopped his carriage and preſented to him three young women, who repeated ſome fine complimentary verſes, which they had got by heart; an immenſe crowd aſſembled about him, and teſtified great joy by their ſhouts and acclamations. He thanked them with great good humour but ſeemed to have more need of ſleep than of com-

pliments: he appeared, indeed, everywhere to ſhew a profound contempt for popular opinion and popular applauſe. He ſpoke very little to ſtrangers through his whole journey, and ſeemed to be ſenſible that every word he ſaid would be noted."

The government of Berne had ſent a deputy to him at Milan, who accompanied him on his journey, and had a ſon with him, a boy about thirteen years old, and of very quick parts, much above his age. Buonaparté ſeemed always very fond of talking to him. He found him one day with a map of Swiſſerland. "What are you looking at there?" ſaid the General. "Some parts of my own country which I am not acquainted with," replied the Youth. "Do you know that part?" ſaid Buonaparté, pointing to Porentrui. "That does not belong to us," replied the Youth. "We mean to give it you," returned the General. "And what do you mean to aſk in exchange?" ſaid the Boy. "Nothing," ſaid Buonaparté, "we will make you a preſent of it." "Nothing!" returned the Youth, thoughtfully. "*Ah! Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*" Buonaparté immediately turned to his father, and ſaid "Take care of the Boy's education; he will be no common man, ſome day or other."

When he came near to the little village of Faubroun, which is ſurrounded with thick fir trees, he got out of his carriage and walked to the inn, humming the tune of "*Paiſible bois.*" He talked very freely with the landlord, and aſked him if he paid many taxes? "No," ſaid the man, "we hardly know what they are." "Have you no land of your own?" "Yes, about fifty pounds a year." "Do you pay no taxes for that?" "Yes, the tythes and quit

rent, which are no more than the annual wages of one of my husbandmen; I reckoned that in the expense of working my land, and I paid for it accordingly.'' "Does your government levy no tax upon the land?" "None" "How then does it pay its expenses?" "With the produce of its domains, which is not only sufficient for the purpose, but leaves a balance every year." "You are very well satisfied with your government then, I suppose?" "And so I ought to be," replied the landlord, "with a government which does great good to the poor and no harm to the rich." "If all this be true," said Buonaparté, turning to one of his officers, "these are the happiest people in the world."

Buonaparté, after passing through Swisserland, stopped at Rastadt to open the conferences of the Congress, and then proceeded on his journey. During his short stay at that place he gave a specimen of what the other powers of Europe had to expect from him and the French Republic, by his treatment of Count Ferzen, the envoy of Sweden to the Congress, a man well known for his attachment to the old court of France and his hatred to the Revolution. When he was introduced to him, Buonaparté received him coolly, but with civility, and then asked what minister the Court of Sweden had at Paris. To which the Count replied, with evident confusion, "None." Buonaparté then expressed his surprise that the King should send a person to meet the plenipotentiaries, who was essentially disagreeable to every French citizen. He remarked, that the King would be much offended if a French minister should be sent to Stockholm, who had endeavoured to excite the people to insurrection; and, by the same rule, the French Republic could not suffer his Majesty to send men

too well known for their attachment to the old court, to face the miniſters of the firſt nation on earth, which well knew how to preſerve its dignity. The Count retired, much irritated and confuſed, ſaying, "he ſhould report to his Majeſty what he had juſt heard."

Buonaparté, after his arrival at Paris, ſhunned every opportunity of being noticed: he lived in a ſmall houſe and retired ſtreet; he received very little company; he avoided all crowded places, and never went out but in a plain carriage with two horſes; he dined ſometimes with the different miniſters of ſtate, and never appeared but twice at any public meeting; in doing this, he complied with his natural diſpoſition. He appeared to contemn popular applauſe, and he avoided giving any offence to the Directory, who, before he left Italy, had appointed him to the command of the army of England.

The policy of Buonaparté appears to have been, to gain popularity by ſeeming to avoid it, by the ſhew of great moderation, and by a public expreſſion of his averſion to Jacobin principles: he dreaded their power as a party, though, as individuals, they were ſuited to his purpoſe. In every inſtance where he has had any opportunity, Buonaparté has endeavoured to ſuppreſs diſcuſſion and freedom of ſentiment. The new conſtitutions of Italy were framed almoſt entirely by himſelf, with as little of the popular leaven as poſſible; all the firſt legiſlators and public officers were of his own appointment, and before he left Milan he ordered all the popular ſocieties to be cloſed. He conſtantly addreſſed the military as the guardians and preſervers of the different conſti-

tutions he had eſtabliſhed. The treaty of peace was entirely his own framing, and he is ſaid to have adviſed the Directory to diminiſh the force of the coalition by making ſeparate treaties with the Allied Powers; he adviſed alſo, that moderate conditions ſhould be granted to the Emperor in order to induce the other powers to treat, when they ſaw that, even when vanquiſhed, he was not oppreſſed.

The ceremony of his preſentation to the Directory, when he arrived from Italy, was attended with every degree of ſplendor and parade. They were about to receive a general, who, by his proweſs and talents, had vanquiſhed the moſt formidable armies ever ſent into the field againſt France; and who had preſerved the independence and extended the power of the country againſt a confederacy formed for the utter deſtruction of its glory.

The great court of the Luxembourg was the place choſen for this ſuperb ſpectacle; it was covered with an immenſe awning, and the walls were decorated with hangings of the national colours and military trophies; at one end was an altar ſurmounted with ſtatues of Liberty, Equality, and Peace, and ornamented with the different ſtandards which had been taken from the enemy; on each ſide of the altar were ſeats in a ſemicircular form, compoſing a vaſt amphitheatre, and deſtined for the conſtituted authorities and the conſervatory of muſic; from the walls were ſuſpended the colours of the different armies of the Republic; an immenſe crowd lined the court and windows of the palace, and all the neighbouring ſtreets were filled with thoſe who could not gain admittance within; the air perpetually reſounded with their acclamations and ſhouts of joy.

At twelve o'clock at noon the ſound of cannon announced the commencement of the fête, and the proceſſion, which conſiſted of the Directory, the miniſters of ſtate, and conſtituted authorities, began to move from their different places of meeting towards the Luxembourg; after they had arrived, and were all ſeated, the Preſident of the Directory gave orders to inform the foreign miniſters, the miniſter of war, and the generals Buonaparté, Joubert, and Andreoſſi, that the Directory were ready to receive them. The conſervatory of muſic began a beautiful ſymphony, which was ſoon interrupted by the ſound of repeated ſhouts, rending the air with "Long live the Republic!"—"Long live Buonaparté!"—"Long live the Great Nation!" The noiſe continued to increaſe, the crowd kept preſſing forward, every eye ſparkled with expectation and curioſity, and turned towards the great door: *Buonaparté entered!* the enthuſiaſm of the people increaſed, not a ſingle perſon was ſilent, but all cried out, with one impulſe and with one accord, "The Deliverer of Italy"—"The Pacificator of the Continent."

Buonaparté now advanced with calmneſs and dignity. It was the moſt ſublime moment that a mortal could experience; the greateſt trial to the feelings of a man; yet he ſhewed the ſame coolneſs he had done in the midſt of battle. He was accompanied by the miniſter of foreign relations, the miniſter at war, and his aides-de-camp: the muſic played the Hymn to Liberty, and every one ſtood up uncovered. When he had arrived at the ſteps of the altar he was preſented to the Directory by Talleyrand, in a ſpeech ſuited to the occaſion: after it was finiſhed,

all ſeemed eager to hear the Conqueror of Italy, the ſimplicity and modeſty of whoſe appearance formed a fine contraſt to the grandeur of his ſituation, and every one preſent figured him at the Bridge of Lodi, at Arcola, or Campo Formio. A profound ſilence immediately took place while Buonaparté preſented to the Preſident of the Directory the Emperor's ratification of the treaty, and ſpoke as follows:—

"Citizen Directors—The French People, in order to be free, had to combat with kings; to obtain a conſtitution founded upon reaſon, they had to vanquiſh the prejudices of eighteen centuries. The Conſtitution of the third year, and you, have triumphed over all obſtacles. Religion, feudality, and royalty, have ſucceſſively governed Europe; but, the peace which you have concluded dates the æra of repreſentative governments. You have organized the Great Nation, whoſe vaſt territory is circumſcribed only by the limits which nature herſelf hath placed. You have done more. The two moſt beautiful parts of Europe, formerly ſo celebrated for the arts, the ſciences, and the great men which they produced, ſee, with renovated hope, the Genius of Liberty riſe from the tombs of their anceſtors. Theſe are the two pedeſtals on which the deſtinies have placed other nations. I have the honour to preſent the treaty ſigned at Campo Formio, and ratified by his Imperial Majeſty. Peace gives the earneſt of liberty, proſperity and glory to the Republic. When the happineſs of the French people ſhall reſt on well framed organic laws, all Europe will become free."

The Hero had ſcarcely finiſhed, when ſhouts of

acclamation on all ſides ſeemed to reach the clouds. "Long live the Republic!"—"Long live Buonaparté!" were the general cry. The Preſident anſwered him in a very long ſpeech, and afterwards gave him the fraternal embrace, in which he was followed by the other members of the Directory, and witneſſed with great emotion by all preſent. Buonaparté deſcended from the altar, and the miniſter of foreign relations conducted him to an armchair which was prepared for him before the diplomatic body. The conſervatory of muſic then performed the Chant du Retour, the words by Chenier, and the muſic by Mehul. The other generals were then preſented, in turn, and received, and returned addreſſes ſuitable to the occaſion; after which they took their different ſeats, prepared for them in front of Buonaparté, and the muſic played the Chant du Depart. The Directors then diſſolved the ſitting and returned to their palace with the reſt of the proceſſion. The ſpectators ſaluted Buonaparté with the ſame acclamations at his departure as at his entrance. A magnificent dinner was given at the Luxembourg to the General, and an immenſe number of civil and military officers; the evening concluded with a ball at the houſe of the Miniſter of the Interior, and thus ended this august ceremony.

Buonaparté at all times affected the character of a man of ſcience and a lover of letters; there can be no ſtronger proof of it than his placing the title, Member of the National Inſtitute, before that of General. At a literary dinner, given by François de Neufchateau, he pretended to converſe with every ſcientific man in his own line; with Lagrange and

La Place he talked of Mathematics; with Sieyes of Metaphyſics; of Poetry with Chenier; of Politics with Gallòis, and with Daunou of Legiſlation and Public Law. He affected in Italy to be the patron of letters, but it does not appear that they flouriſhed much under his protection. The day after his nomination to be a member of the Inſtitute in the claſs of mechanics, he addreſſed a letter to Camus, the preſident, in which are the ſame appearance of modeſty, and the ſame reſpect for literature which he had formerly ſhewn.

"CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

The good opinion of the diſtinguiſhed men who compoſe the National Inſtitute does me the higheſt honour. I perceive, that, before I become their equal, I muſt be a long time their ſcholar. If I knew one method more expreſſive than another of teſtifying my eſteem for them, I ſhould employ it. The only true conqueſts, and thoſe which leave no regret, are thoſe which we gain over ignorance. The moſt honourable and the moſt uſeful of all employments is to extend the bounds of human knowledge. The true power of the French Republic ought, henceforth, to conſiſt in appropriating to itſelf every great diſcovery.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE."

The fêtes and dinners which were given to Buonaparté were, many of them, ſhared by his wife, particularly the balls; he conſtantly attended her to the latter, and ſhewed her every external mark of reſpect. The ſimplicity of his dreſs and manner ſeemed pointedly to indicate his real grandeur and ſuperiority; for, where every one elſe was ſuperbly dreſſed, in order to do him honour, he himſelf always appeared in a plain coat and without powder.

The ceremony of his installation at the National Institute was intended to be kept entirely private; yet, as the day was publicly known, the room was crowded as soon as it was opened; for wherever he could be seen he was never without a crowd. At five o'clock the members all took their places, Buonaparté, among the rest, in a plain grey frock, the dress he generally appeared in; there was nothing particular, therefore, to point out the man who had so lately conquered so many armies, overturned so many states, and created so many new ones. Neither his stature, his manners, nor his dress, distinguished him from the crowd; and yet, from the great eclat of his name, he attracted the notice of every one present: the moment he was discovered, the room rung with applauses, which were repeated whenever any allusion to him occurred in any of the speeches, or anything which could be applied to the Hero of France. It is worthy of remark, that Buonaparté was elected in the room of his friend Carnot, who had been lately banished.

In 1797, he appeared at the anniversary of the 21st of January, and there he seemed ashamed of his company; he was seated among the members of the National Institute as a private individual, and took so much pains to conceal himself, by hanging down his head, and drawing himself together, that he was not perceived till the ceremony was nearly concluded. He was then cheered with loud and repeated applauses.

The marks of public favour, which Buonaparté always received from the Parisians, must have been, in some degree, pleasing to his mind, and have inspired him with an additional confidence in any plans that

he might have formed againſt the Government. But, if he had indulged ſuch views then, there is ground to think that he was not at eaſe, for his ſchemes were not ſufficiently matured to be acted upon; and Carnot has declared, that the Directory dreaded and wiſhed to deſtroy him;—of this Buonaparté was aware, and he ſecretly deſpiſed them as men and envied them as rulers. Paris was not, therefore, a place in which he could long remain in ſafety, if even his energetic mind could have concealed its diſguſt; beſides, his policy required that he ſhould appear at Paris in the character only of a private citizen. To conform to the level of the Merlins, the Frerons, and of the literary horde, and to feel himſelf no more than an equal of journaliſts, and pamphleteers, and lecturers—the ſycophants of the Directory, the panders of the people, and the quacks of ſcience—to reduce himſelf to ſuch an equality, and, worſt of all, to be in their power, was degrading and humiliating in the extreme, to him, who had over-ran Italy, at the head of the troops of the Republic, who, when with the army, was without a ſuperior and without a rival.

CHAPTER XXV.

Farther Particulars regarding Buonaparté.—M. Sérizy's satirical Remarks on the Expedition to Egypt.—Anecdote of Buonaparté by Carnot.—On the common Fame of public Characters.—Anecdote of Buonaparté from Peltier.—Sir Robert Wilson's Statements of the Murder of the Turkish Prisoners at Jaffa and the poisoning of the Sick.—Dr. Wittman's Remarks on the same Circumstances.—Sir Robert Wilson's Justification of his Narrative, in Reply to the Complaint of the French Ambassador.—English Writers defend Buonaparté.—Remarks.

NOTWITHSTANDING the diffidence with which Buonaparté seemed to receive the honours that were lavished upon him at different times; and, although the literati had adopted him, and conferred upon him the distinctions which they had at their command, several men of letters ridiculed those *Savans* who accompanied him to Egypt. Amongst others, Richer Sérizy declaims, in The *Accusateur Publique*, in the following terms:

"What can we think of those pretended learned men, knowing hardly the alphabet of common sense; of those lamps of the Institute! who, thinking they were called upon to complete those high and mysterious destinies, forgetting the unnatural fate of Pharaoh's conjurors, set off, with empty purses, in company of the modern Jason, to search, first, for the golden fleece; then, to dazzle Asia with their talents; next, to build a fourth pyramid, in addition to the three extant, that their great deeds might be transmitted to posterity; and, lastly, to rebuild, most as-

ſuredly, in fifteen days, the twenty-two thouſand cities of old Egypt; to reinſtate the lake Meris, and again to ſet up the bull Apis!"

And, again, he ſays:

"If I wiſh to find out the utility of ſuch an extravagant undertaking, I only ſee the chimerical project of ſpreading the revolution all over Aſia. Who can be ignorant, that the climate, the fanaticiſm, the cuſtoms and manners, render the Eaſtern nations quite averſe to our manners and cuſtoms; that it would require an infinite time, immenſe ſums of money, the philoſopher's ſtone, to give life again and to reunite the duſt of the wonderful Memphis, ſcattered and diſperſed ſo many centuries ago? What advantage can we reap from having Cairo and being deprived of forty thouſand men in our armies? But, they ſay, that, in time, it will prove an excellent colony to us: Would it not, then, have been much better to have taken care of ours, ſo valuable, ſo fruitful, ſo populous, rather than to invade a country, which we cannot keep long, and inſtead of abandoning real comforts of life for illuſive hopes? Who does not ſee, that the Britiſh Government has ſo well calculated upon the extravagance of ſuch an enterpriſe, that it ſeems to have been their wiſh that our army ſhould land, unmoleſted, on thoſe diſtant and barren ſhores? Indeed, one would be apt to believe it, when it is well known, that Admiral Nelſon was before Alexandria three days before the arrival of Buonaparté! and, in fact, Why has he not waited for him? how has he miſſed him at ſea? The landing of our army in Egypt, did it not offer to the enemy the conſiderable advantage of removing the dangers which threatened England, of leſſening our ſtrength upon the continent,

and of engaging, at laſt, the Ottoman Porte (the dupe of her good faith, and too faithful to her engagements) to ſide with the Coalition againſt the deſtroyers of men?

"And what ſhall we think of the new-faſhioned General, who, in order to ſucceed in his undertaking, acts the part of Alexander, takes folly for heroiſm, puts, gravely, a conjuror's book in his pocket, provides himſelf with orvietan, with phoſphorus, with inflammable air, with ſtuffed ſerpents, taken from the cabinet of natural hiſtory, in order to put them under Pompey's pillar, imitating thereby the Serpent of Appollonius and Epidaurus; makes the Egyptians believe that he is a god, and perſuades the Pariſians that the terrible and memorable battle of Chebreiſſe is the battle of Abelles?"

Carnot in his Pamphlet, publiſhed nearly a month before Buonaparté's departure for Egypt, complains of his *ingratitude* towards himſelf, to whom he owed much obligation for his elevation to the command of the army of Italy:

"I was ſo perſuaded," ſays he, "that it was impoſſible that Buonaparté had contributed to my proſcription, that, when he paſſed, on his way to Raſtadt, through a ſmall town, where I was for a ſhort time, I was on the point of ſending him a note, in order to ask of him a momentary interview; and, if I did not do it, it was, becauſe I feared that I might put him to ſome trouble; for I had never entertained the ſmalleſt doubt about his generoſity. I then let him paſs, and illuminated my windows, as did all the inhabitants, reflecting, in the gayeſt humour, on the whimſical deſtinies of mankind. A few days afterwards I felt extremely happy in having acted as I did; when I

heard, that, at Geneva, Buonaparté had put under confinement a banker, called Bontems, only becauſe he was ſuſpected to have taken me from Paris to Geneva, after the 18th Fructidor, in order to reſcue me from the purſuits of the Directory, who ſent out whole battalions and artillery to find me, in the neighbourhood of Paris. The ſuſpicion was unfounded; I had never ſeen Bontems in Paris, and it was not to him that I owed the obligation to have taken me out of the frontiers: the unhappy man remained, however, ſeveral months in priſon! Such is the account I heard from many perſons, who had ſeen him at Geneva, and who had heard him mention the fact; adding, that Buonaparté was exceſſively angry, and made him the moſt violent threats."

Carnot, elſewhere, expreſſes himſelf very indignantly at the behaviour of Buonaparté toward him.

He that is remarkable for having achieved any great actions will have many friends, from admiration, who will panegyrize him for virtues that he never poſſeſſed; and many enemies, from envy, who will ſully his reputation by enumerating crimes that he never committed. The one will extol him as the *moſt* perfect, the other will execrate him as the *moſt* depraved character: the attributes which each will aſcribe to him are ſuperlative, and they will not be ſatisfied with any opinion that may be formed of him that does not either repreſent him as a demigod or a demon.—"All or nothing!" is their cry—not as he is, but as they wiſh him to be, is their picture; ſo, that, if the good qualifications of the individual be merely moderate, they will be magnified to perfection by his friends; and his vices and his follies, however venial, will be ſo exaggerated by his enemies, that, if he had the

moſt ſincere diſpoſition to repair his faults, "detraction will not let him" even acknowledge them, for fear of the evil appearance that malice would give to his firſt ſtep towards reform. Unfortunately, theſe partialities are ſo well adapted to their object—the concealment of truth—that an honeſt inquirer is often deceived, and, as often as he diſcovers the error, is diſguſted; whilſt an acute inquirer has not always the means of detecting the fabrication, and is himſelf deluded into a belief of it. The motive, however, once aſcertained, the myſtery is unravelled.

Theſe obſervations will apply particularly to Buonaparté: his publicity has occaſioned curioſity; and, as the curious are always credulous, every tale that has been related of him has met at leaſt with ſome believers. Nor have tales been wanting to gratify the fondneſs of his friends and the hatred of his enemies: ſtories have been ſo ingeniouſly manufactured that the diſcovery of ſome of them has deſtroyed the credibility even of facts, and induced a rejection of thoſe ordinary circumſtances of evidence with which the mind would have, otherwiſe, been contented. Fact and fiction, being, therefore, of ſo near a ſemblance, the opinions of honeſt and impartial men have been, in general, ſuſpended upon thoſe ſtatements which are now ſubmitted to the conſideration of unprejudiced minds.

An act of very barbarous cruelty is attributed to Buonaparté, in a letter, to be found in M. Peltier's "Paris," vol. xi. p. 771. The Writer proceeds as follows:

"I ſay, and it is what twenty thouſand men know, without daring to ſay it; I ſay, that, in no age, and under no tyrant, have crimes more enormous been committed than thoſe which are daily committed un-

der the direction and authority of Buonaparté! Will it be credited, that, in the hospitals appropriated to the sick and wounded, the surgeons devoted to Buonaparté have a constant order, as soon as they see a sick soldier past recovery, or one whose incurable wounds will render him no longer of use to the service, to set a mark upon his bed, which fatal mark announces to the attendants, that this victim is to be carried away with the dead; he is, accordingly, thrown into a waggon, appointed to remove the dead bodies to the grave, and he is generally strangled or smothered: but, notwithstanding these precautions, as the carriages move along to the place of interment, the cries and groans of the unfortunate men, who are on the point of being buried alive, may be distinctly heard! To this horrible fact I have myself been a witness, as well as to what I am going to relate:

"In the month of July, 1797, after an action, which took place near Salo, on the Lac de Guarda, Buonaparté gave orders, that not only the dead, but the dying and wounded, should be buried! The wretched victims were placed upon five waggons, and, at midnight, were dragged to an enormous ditch, and precipitated in it. The cries of the living being distinctly heard, the monsters threw down eight loads of burning lime upon them, which falling upon the undressed wounds of the poor victims, made them send forth such piercing cries, that the virtuous curate of Salo, seized with horror at the transaction, died, in consequence of the fright!

"To these atrocities I have been an eye-witness, and I denounce them to all men and to all ages. If the Directory wish to be satisfied of the truth of my assertions, they have it in their power. I do not sign

my name to this letter, as I do not wish to be assassinated before the examination of the crimes I have denounced can take place. I call upon the Directory to verify the facts, and, when this is done, I will immediately present myself before them as a witness: in the meantime I shall discover myself to REWBELL."

Sir Robert Wilson, an English officer, in a Work published during the peace, relating to the operations of the French in Egypt, relates some circumstances of atrocity, which are introduced by the following remarks, in the preface of his book.

"To those who may imagine that my representations of General Buonaparte's conduct, in the several instances referred to, are imprudent and improper, at this moment, to be brought forward, I must premise; that, if they are concerned only for the character of that General, I am happy to afford them an occasion to be better acquainted with this celebrated man, who, by his great fortune and uninterrupted career of victory, (with one exception, of Acre) that glorious monument of British conduct!) has dazzled the understandings of the mass of mankind, and prevented the results of those inquiries having proper influence which those with whom the opinions of the day do not pass current, have instituted on his pretensions to the admiration of posterity.

"To those, whose motives of disapprobation proceed from a regard for tranquillity, exciting the wish that a general amnesty of oblivion might be extended to the past; first, I will say, that the dissemination of this principle would tend to produce more wickedness in the world than has ever been yet committed: for what is there to intimidate ambition, in full possession

of power, but the pen of the hiſtorian? What can guarantee mankind from the atrocities of a licentious deſpotiſm, but an aſſurance, that the memory of great crimes is perpetuated in the records of hiſtory?

"If the charges are not founded, the man yet lives to exonerate his injured character: if he cannot refute them, then muſt he ſink into his grave loaded with the heavy weight of ſuch offences, and the miſerable preſcience, that execration ſhall attach to his memory, inſtead of the fame he coveted; that, on his cenotaph poſterity will inſcribe:

"*Ille venena Colchica et quidquid*
Unquam concipitur nefas tractavit."

"General Hutchinſon," ſays Sir R. Wilſon, "was very angry with the Turks for ſtill continuing the practice of mangling and cutting off the heads of the priſoners; and the Captain Pacha, at his remonſtrance, again iſſued very ſevere orders againſt it; but the Turks juſtified themſelves for the maſſacre of the French by the maſſacre at Jaffa. As this act and the poiſoning of the ſick have never been credited, becauſe of ſuch enormities being ſo incredibly atrocious, a digreſſion, to authenticate them, may not be deemed intruſively tedious; and, had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accuſation would have been preferred in a more ſolemn manner, and the damning proofs produced, by penitent agents of theſe murders; but neither menaces nor promiſes can, altogether, ſtifle the cries of outraged humanity, and the day for retribution of juſtice is only delayed.

"Buonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by aſſault, many of the garriſon were put to the ſword; but the greater part flying into the moſques, and im-

ploring mercy from their purſuers, were granted their lives; and, let it be well remembered, that an exaſperated army, in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war juſtified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impreſſion, and proudly refuſed to be any longer the executioners of an unreſiſting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian Army! this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy, of which the ſubſequent treaſon of an individual ſhall not deprive you.

"Three days afterwards, Buonaparté who had expreſſed much reſentment at the compaſſion manifeſted by his troops, and determined to relieve himſelf from the maintenance and care of three thouſand eight hundred priſoners *, ordered them to be marched to a riſing ground, near Jaffa, where a diviſion of French infantry formed againſt them. When the Turks had

* "Buonaparté had, in perſon, previouſly inſpected the whole body, amounting to near 5,000 men, with the object of ſaving thoſe who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble phyſiognomy of a veteran Janizary attracted his obſervation; and he aſked him, ſharply, "Old Man! what did you here?" The Janizary, undaunted, replied, "I muſt anſwer that queſtion by aſking you the ſame: your anſwer will be, That you came to ſerve your ſultan; ſo did I mine." The intrepid frankneſs of the reply excited univerſal intereſt in his favour. Buonaparté even ſmiled! "He is ſaved!" whiſpered ſome of the aids-de-camp. "You know not Buonaparté," obſerved one, who had ſerved with him in Italy: "that ſmile (I ſpeak from experience) does not proceed from the ſentiment of benevolence: remember what I ſay." The opinion was too true. The Janizary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and ſuffered!

entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the ſignal-gun fired. Vollies of muſketry and grape inſtantly played againſt them; and Buonaparté, who had been regarding the ſcene through a teleſcope, when he ſaw the ſmoke aſcending, could not reſtrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had juſt reaſon to dread the refuſal of his troops thus to diſhonour themſelves. Kleber had remonſtrated in the moſt ſtrenuous manner, and the officer of the etat-major, who commanded, (for the general to whom the diviſion belonged was abſent) even refuſed to execute the order without a written inſtruction; but Buonaparté was too cautious, and ſent Berthier to enforce obedience.

"When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the ſufferings of the wounded; but ſome time elapſed before the bayonet could finiſh what the fire had not deſtroyed, and, probably, many languiſhed days in agony. Several French officers, by whom theſe details are partly furniſhed, declared, that this was a ſcene, the retroſpect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accuſtomed as they had been to ſights of cruelty.

"Theſe were the priſoners whom Aſſalini, in his very able Work on the Plague, alludes to, when he ſays, that for three days the Turks ſhewed no ſymptoms of that diſeaſe, and it was their putrifying remains which contributed to produce the peſtilential malady, which he deſcribes as afterwards making ſuch ravages in the French army.

"The bones ſtill lie in heaps, and are ſhewn to

every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

"Such a fact should not, however, be alledged without some proof or leading circumstance, stronger than assertion, being produced to support it: but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy, for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore, to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was Bon's division which fired; and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying himself respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

"The next circumstance is of a nature which requires, indeed, the most particular details to establish; since the idea can scarce be entertained, that the commander of an army should order his own countrymen (or, if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized) to be deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carrier, and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.

"Buonaparté, finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which, from important reasons, cannot be here inserted; on his arrival, he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion; concluding, at

laſt with the remark, that ſomething muſt be done to remedy the evil, and that the deſtruction of the ſick at preſent in the hoſpital was the only meaſure which could be adopted. The phyſician, alarmed at the propoſal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cauſe of humanity, remonſtrated vehemently, repreſenting the cruelty as well as the atrocity of ſuch a murder; but, finding that Buonaparté perſevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable obſervation: 'Neither my principles, nor the character of my profeſſion, will allow me to become a murderer; and, General! if ſuch qualities as you inſinuate are neceſſary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not poſſeſs them.

"Buonaparté was not to be diverted from his object by moral conſiderations; he perſevered, and found an apothecary, who, (dreading the weight of power, but who ſince has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confeſſing the fact) conſented to become his agent, and to adminiſter poiſon to the ſick. Opium, at night, was diſtributed, in gratifying food, the wretched unſuſpecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours 580 ſoldiers, who had ſuffered ſo much for their country, periſhed thus miſerably, by the order of its idol.

"Is there a Frenchman whoſe blood does not chill with horror at the recital of ſuch a fact? Surely the names of theſe murdered unoffending people muſt be now hovering round the ſeat of Government: and . . . . . .

"If a doubt ſhould ſtill exiſt as to the veracity of this ſtatement, let the members of the Inſtitute at Cairo be aſked what paſſed in their ſitting after the return of Buonaparté from Syria; they will relate,

that the ſame virtuous Phyſician, who refuſed to become the deſtroyer of thoſe committed to his protection, accuſed Buonaparté of high treaſon in the full aſſembly, againſt the honour of France, her children, and humanity; that he entered into the full details of the poiſoning of the ſick, and the maſſacre of the garriſon, aggravating theſe crimes by charging Buonaparté with ſtrangling, previouſly, at Roſetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague; thus proving that this diſpoſal of his ſick was a premeditated plan, which he wiſhed to introduce into general practice. In vain Buonaparté attempted to juſtify himſelf; the members ſat petrified with terror, and almoſt doubted whether the ſcene paſſing before their eyes was not illuſion.

"Buonaparté pleaded, that he ordered the garriſon to be deſtroyed, becauſe he had not proviſions to maintain them, or ſtrength enough to guard them; and that it was evident, if they eſcaped, they would act againſt the French, ſince amongſt the priſoners were 500 of the garriſon of El Ariſch, who had promiſed not to ſerve again (they had been compelled, in paſſing through Jaffa, by the commandant, to ſerve); and that he deſtroyed the ſick to prevent contagion, and ſave themſelves from falling into the hands of the Turks; but theſe arguments, however ſpecious, were refuted directly, and Buonaparté was, at laſt, obliged to reſt his defence on the poſitions of Machiavel. When he afterwards left Egypt, the Savans were ſo angry at being left behind, contrary to promiſe, that they elected the Phyſician preſident of the Inſtitute; an act which ſpoke for itſelf fully.

"Aſſuredly all theſe proceedings will not be found

in the minutes of the Inſtitute; no, Buonaparté's policy foreſaw the danger, and power produced the eraſure; but let no man, calculating on the force of circumſtances which may prevent ſuch an avowal as is ſolicited, preſume on this to deny the whole; there are records which remain, and which, in due ſeaſon, will be produced. In the interim, this repreſentation will be ſufficient to ſtimulate enquiry; and, Frenchmen, your honour is indeed intereſted in the examination.

"Let us hope alſo, that in no country will there be found another man of ſuch Machiavelian principles, as by ſophiſtry to palliate thoſe tranſactions; nor muſt the judgment abuſe itſelf by bringing to recollection the horrors of the French Revolution, and thus diminiſhing the force of thoſe crimes by the frequency of equal guilt in France during her conteſt for *Liberty* or *Slavery*."

In addition to the ſtatement of Sir R. Wilſon, Dr. Wittman, who was phyſician to the Britiſh military miſſion, which accompanied the army of the Grand Vizier, in a work printed ſubſequent to Sir R. Wilſon's, ſays, that, "Four thouſand of the wretched inhabitants *who had ſurrendered, and who had in vain implored the mercy of their conquerors*, were, together with a part of the late Turkiſh garriſon of El-Ariſch, (amounting, it has been ſaid, to five or ſix hundred,) dragged out, in cold blood, four days after the French had obtained poſſeſſion of Jaffa, to the Sand Hills, about a league diſtant, in the way to Gaza, *and there moſt inhumanly put to death. I have ſeen* the ſkeletons of thoſe unfortunate victims, which lie ſcattered over the hills—a modern Golgotha, which remains a laſting diſgrace to a nation calling

itſelf civilized. Indeed I am ſorry to add, that the charge of *cruelty* againſt the French General Buonaparté, does not reſt here. It having been reported, that, previouſly to the retreat of the French army from Syria, their commander in chief, Buonaparté, *had ordered all the ſick at Jaffa* to be poiſoned. I was led to make the inquiry, to which every one who had viſited the ſpot would naturally be directed, reſpecting an act of ſuch ſingular, and it ſhould ſeem, wanton inhumanity. It concerns me to have to ſtate, *not only that ſuch a circumſtance was poſitively aſſerted to have happened*, but, that while in Egypt, *an individual was pointed out to us as having been the executioner of theſe diabolical commands.*"

General Andreoſſi, the Ambaſſador of Buonaparté at the court of Great Britain, complained to Lord Hawkeſbury of theſe ſtatements. Sir Robert Wilſon being informed of General Andreoſſi's complaint, wrote the following letters to the editors of the public papers—

"In the official correſpondence lately publiſhed, there appear ſome remarks which the French Ambaſſador was inſtructed to make on my Hiſtory of the Britiſh expedition to Egypt, and of which I feel called upon to take notice, not in perſonal controverſy with General Andreoſſi, for, conſcious of the ſuperior virtue of my cauſe, I feel myſelf neither aggrieved nor irritated by the language he has uſed, but that the public may not attribute my ſilence to a deſire of evading further diſcuſſion, and thus the ſhallow mode of contradiction adopted by the *Chief Conſul* acquire an unmerited conſideration.

"The Ambaſſador obſerves, 'That a colonel in the Engliſh army has publiſhed a work in England,

filled with the moſt atrocious and diſguſting calumnies, againſt the French army and its General.—The lies it contains have been contradicted by the reception which *Colonel Sebaſtiani* experienced. The publicity of his Report was at once a refutation and reparation which the French army had a right to expect.'

"But ſurely a new ſignification muſt have been attached in France to the word *calumny*, when ſuch a term is applied to my account of the conduct of the French troops in Egypt, and the conſequent diſpoſition of the inhabitants towards them!

"Independent, however, of the proofs to be adduced in corroboration of my ſtatement, Europe may juſtly appreciate the probable truth of what I have written, when ſhe recollects the unparalleled ſufferings endured by the unoffending countries into which, during the laſt war, a French army penetrated! and ſhe will, at leaſt, heſitate to believe, that, the *ſame* armies ſhould voluntarily ameliorate their conduct in a country more remote, where the atrocities they might commit, would be leſs liable to publicity, and that this extraordinary change ſhould be in favour of a people whoſe principles and reſiſtance might have excited the reſentment of more generous invaders!

"I will not enter into any unneceſſary detail of the numerous facts, which I could urge; but I appeal to the honour of every Britiſh officer employed in Egypt, whether thoſe obſervations are not ſacredly true, which deſcribe the French as being hateful to the inhabitants of that country, who repreſent them as having merited that hatred from the *ruin and devaſtation with which their progreſs through it had*

been marked? and I am ready, if there be one who refuſes to ſanction this relation, to reſign for ever every pretenſion to honourable reputation, and ſubmit, without a further ſtruggle, to that odium which would attach to calumny and a wilful perverſion of truth.

"But I feel confident, there is no individual who will not amply confirm all that I have written on the ſubject; and perhaps Europe has a right to condemn me, for not having made the accuſations ſtill ſtronger, when I can produce frequent general orders of the French army, for the deſtruction of villages, and their inhabitants; when I can prove, that, above forty thouſand of the natives periſhed by the ſwords of the French ſoldiery; and that every act of violence was committed, and particularly in Upper Egypt, which could outrage humanity, and diſgrace civilized nations! When writing a hiſtory of the campaign, was it poſſible not to expreſs indignation againſt the authors of ſuch calamities? Would it have been natural not to have felt the animation of that virtuous pride, which reflection on the different conduct of the Britiſh ſoldiery muſt inſpire in the heart of every Briton? I have aſſerted that a Britiſh ſoldier could traverſe alone through any part of Egypt, or even penetrate into the deſart, ſecure from injury or inſult. I have deſcribed the natives, as conſidering the Britiſh their benefactors and protectors, ſoliciting opportunities to manifeſt their gratitude, and eſteeming their uniform as ſacred as the turban of Mahometaniſm; and I may venture to predict, that hereafter, the French traveller will be compelled to conceal the name of his nation, and owe his ſecurity to the aſſumption of a Britiſh character!

"But does the effect of Colonel Sebastiani's Report justify the Chief Consul's conclusion, 'that it is a complete refutation of what I have advanced,' even if we attach to that Report implicit belief in its candour and veracity? Is it possible that the Chief Consul can suppose the world will trace respect for the French name in the circumstance which occurred to Colonel Sebastiani at Cairo, and which rendered it necessary for him to demand protection from the Vizier *? or, would he imagine, that the apologue

"* Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed before me on horseback; in passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a Christian, and, above all, before a Frenchman! and menaced them with the bastinado after my departure. I could not be silent under such an insult, and, upon my return, I sent Citizen Joubert to the Pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress. I declared to him, 'That I expected this man would come publicly to me to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal, and implore my pity!' He found that Mustapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwise; but I persisted, by declaring formally to the Pacha, "That, if this reparation was not made in the manner in which I demanded it, I should instantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Constantinople to state my complaints.' This declaration produced all the effect which I expected, and Mustapha, alarmed, came, on the following day, to me, conducted by Rosetti, and he, publicly, asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him, 'That my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the solicitations of the Pacha and M. Rosetti; but if, in future, he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable.' This affair, which was instantly spread throughout the whole city, produced the best effect."

Sebastiani's Report.

of Dgezzar Pacha was not intelligible, even previous to the inſtructions being publiſhed, which M. Talleyrand tranſmitted to the French commercial ageuts?

"That illuſtrious Senator, to whoſe virtues and ſtupendous talents England owes ſo much of her proſperity, has declared, that this Report of Colonel Sebaſtiani in no caſe contradicts my ſtatement; and I ſhould conſider that high opinion as amply ſufficient to remove any impreſſion which the French Ambaſſador's Note might, otherwiſe, have made, did I not think it a duty to preſs ſome obſervations on that part of the paragraph which alludes to the direct accuſation againſt General Buonaparté, that the public may know I was fully aware of the important reſponſibility which I had voluntarily undertaken, and in which much national honour was involved. I would wiſh the world ſeriouſly to examine, whether the accuſer or accuſed has ſhrunk from the inveſtigation, and then hold him as guilty who has withdrawn from the tribunal of inquiry.

"I avowed that I was his public accuſer: I ſtood prepared to ſupport the charges. The courts of my country were open to that mode of trial, which, as an honeſt man, he could alone have required, but of which he did not dare to avail himſelf. It was no anonymous libeller againſt whom he was to have filed his anſwer, but againſt one (and without any indecent vanity I may ſay it) whoſe rank and character would have juſtified his moſt ſerious attention.

The charges were too awful to be treated with neglect, and we know that they have not been read with indifference. Nor is it poſſible that the Firſt Conſul can imagine the fame of General Buonaparté is leſs

ſullied, becauſe a few ſnuff-boxes, bearing his portrait, were received by ſome timid or avaricious individuals with expreſſions of eſteem: or, can he hope, that the contemptible, but not leſs unworthy, inſinuation, directed againſt the gallant and eſtimable Britiſh General, will divert mankind from a reflection on the crimes with which he ſtands arraigned?

"Thoſe crimes were ſo enormous, as, from their magnitude, to ſtagger belief; and, notwithſtanding the irrefragable evidence of their commiſſion, the mind ſtill diſpoſed itſelf rather to receive the impreſſion of aſtoniſhment than conviction; but, at length, this ſentiment is overpowered by the weight of guilt; and the name of Jaffa, echoed by the Turks to inſpire feelings of indignation and revenge, is no longer heard in Europe without emotions of horror. Sebaſtiani himſelf recoiled at the recollection, and fled from this place of terror, preferring to increaſe the preſumptive proofs againſt his Maſter rather than to viſit a ſpot ſo polluted by his infamy, or hazard the effects of that reſentment which a juſtifiable vengeance might have inflicted on the favourite.

"Fortunately for Europe, ſhe has become more intimately acquainted with the principles of this hitherto miſconceived man; and I confeſs that it gives me conſiderable gratification to indulge the thought, that I have contributed to their development.

"Succeſs may, for inſcrutable purpoſes, continue to attend him; abject ſenates may decree him a throne or the pantheon; but hiſtory ſhall render injured humanity juſtice."

But if the reputation of Buonaparté was forcibly aſſailed by an Engliſh officer, there were Engliſh writers who eagerly defended him. It may be proper to

felect the ſentiments of one of them, as a ſpecimen of the manner in which the Defence was conducted. The Annual Review for 1803, edited by ARTHUR AIKIN, obſerves thus:

"In the late war, and in the preſent, the Britiſh miniſtry has been loudly accuſed of participating in and encouraging thoſe plans of aſſaſſination which have been directed againſt the perſon of the Chief Magiſtrate (Buonaparté at that time was Firſt Conſul) of France. Let the miniſtry, if they can with truth, vindicate themſelves from ſo black a charge, by a ſolemn and authentic diſavowal; and let the Britiſh Public ſhow the high honour and intrepid courage for which they have long been renowned, by conſigning to merited contempt and abhorrence all works, together with their authors, whoſe direct tendency is to degrade the generous and high-ſpirited Patriot into the lurking aſſaſſin."

Reſpecting the Turks, who were thus ſlain, it ſhould be candidly ſtated, that Buonaparté had, formerly, given them their liberty, *on condition* that they would not again ſerve againſt the French; whilſt, on the other hand, it ſhould be recollected, that, if they had not obeyed the commands of the Pacha, by violating the terms of the capitulation, they would have been ſlaughtered for diſobedience of orders by their own countrymen. It would, however, have been honourable to Buonaparté if he had conſidered this circumſtance before he ordered ſuch an immenſe number of men to be indiſcriminately put to death.—Such actions as this ſtain the character of the ſoldier, and render the hero a deſtroyer. Purity of principle is obſcured by the inflexible and unmitigated execution of ſanguinary purpoſes, even though intended for ex-

ample.—The laws of Draco were not the more just because their penalties were bloody.

The assertion, that Buonaparté ordered poison to be administered in the hospitals to his own sick soldiers, seems destitute of that proof which is essential to its authenticity. Dr. Desgenette, the Physician General to the army, the person alluded to as having received these orders, and *refused* to execute them, in his *Histoire Medicale de l'Armée d'Orient*, p. 49, 50, expressly declares, "That the General in Chief showed the utmost attention and tenderness to the soldiers afflicted with the plague, visited them in person whilst confined by that dreadful malady, and even assisted in the most menial offices for their relief."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Disorganized State of France on the Arrival of Buonaparté from Egypt.—Joy of the Parisians on his Return.—Intrigues of the Directors Sieyes and Ducos against the other Directors.—Conferences between Sieyes and Buonaparte.—Secret Meetings of Buonaparté and his Adherents for projecting a new Revolution.—Grand Entertaiment given by the Directory to Buonaparté and the other Generals.—EIGHTEENTH OF BRUMAIRE!—*Especial Meeting of the Council of Ancients.—They Decree that the Legislature should adjourn to St. Cloud, and that Buonaparté should command the armed Force of Paris.—Buonaparté's Speech to the Council.—His Proclamation to the National Guard on the Decree passing.—His Proclamation addressed to the French Soldiery.—His General Orders, appointing the various Generals to new Commands.—Remarks on the issuing of the Proclamation.—The Proclamation of Fouché, the Minister of Police.—Of Canteleu, President of the central Administration.—Buonaparté puts an Army of Ten Thousand Men in Motion and surrounds the Thuilleries.—Sieyes and Ducos leave the Luxembourg and join the Revolutionists at the Thuilleries.—The Director Barras refuses to resign.—The Surprise and Conduct of the Directors Gohier and Moulins on being informed of the Revolution.—Barras sends in his Resignation.—Buonaparté's Message to him and Speech on that Occasion.—Meeting of the Council of Five Hundred.*

INSURRECTION blazed in the Southern and Western departments of France, clubs of the Jacobins were formed in the Capital, and General Jour-

dan had propoſed a decree, in the Council of Five Hundred, once more declaring "the country in danger;" when Buonaparté, unexpectedly, arrived at Paris.

The news flew round the city with the rapidity of lightning: the Pariſians eagerly thronged to behold the "Conqueror of Egypt:" they ſurrounded him, and each ſeemed more deſirous than the other of welcoming his return. His manners appeared more affable than they were before he quitted France: he ſpoke freely to the people, and ſhook ſeveral ſoldiers by the hand who had ſerved with him in Italy. His complexion, bronzed by the Egyptian ſuns, and his hair, cut ſhort and without powder, gave him an appearance of greater manlineſs and ſtrength than were obſervable in him previous to his leaving Europe. He was out of uniform, and wore a grey riding-coat, with a ſilk ſcarf over his ſhoulder ſuſpending a Turkiſh ſabre. He paſſed along the courts and ſtreets leading to the Luxembourg amidſt the acclamations of the populace, and immediately had a private audience of the Directory.

Sieyes the Director had long foreſeen the conſequences which were likely to reſult from the imbecility of the Government, the energy of the factions, and the anarchy of the people; he ſaw, that, if means were not adopted to render the Executive Power ſufficiently ſtrong to be feared, that it would not be reſpected. He deſpiſed each of his colleagues, and only one of them had his confidence: this was Roger Ducos, who looked up to Sieyes as an oracle, and attached himſelf to him, becauſe he had juſt foreſight to perceive, that, if the Directory fell, Sieyes alone was capable of ſaving himſelf from the con-

tempt of the people: to Sieyes, then, Ducos had allied his own fortune, and he was completely the disciple of his brother Director.

Sieyes disclosed to Ducos his intention of calling in the aid of one of the generals, to save the Republic and themselves by overthrowing the Directory: he was secretly pleased at that joy of the people, on the arrival of their Favourite, which alarmed the other Directors; he welcomed him to his apartments in the Luxembourg, disclosed to him his project, and required his aid in its execution. The wile of the Ex-priest, and the arts of the Ex chief of the Army of Egypt, combined a plan, in which both engaged from individual ambition, without any regard to the interests or intention of the other: each so well concealed his own design that they duped one another; and very little remained, but to strike the blow, and to take the full advantage of its success, which each supposed he should immediately possess himself of in his own way.

Various secret conferences were now held, at which the Director Sieyes, the Director Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer, Reinhard, and Buonaparté, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present: few others of any consequence were entrusted with the conspiracy, but those who were, managed their confidence with great discretion. They created various rumours; and, among others, a rumour, that a new plan of government was forming for the Republic. Thus a change was generally talked of amongst the people, without any one knowing from whence it was to proceed, or when it would be: the public mind was, however, prepared for a change, come whenever it might; and all that seemed necess-

ſary to make it to the taſte of the Pariſians was the deſtruction of the Directory. A few of the Council of Ancients and of the Council of Five Hundred were alſo in the ſecret.

Buonaparté appeared very little in public; he ſeemed to court ſecluſion from the gaze of the curioſity of the idle, and he declined the viſits of thoſe who had no real buſineſs to tranſact with him: everybody talked of him, but of thoſe who talked very few knew anything about him. He was buſied in attaching to himſelf men of talents and enterpriſe, whoſe intereſt was to be ſilent, that their plans might be ſecure in their operation.

Sieyes and Ducos acted their parts in a very natural way, and in a manner well calculated to lull their brother Directors in ſecurity: they prevailed on them to invite General Buonaparté and General Moreau to a public dinner. A grand entertainment was, accordingly, given, by the Directory and the Councils, to thoſe generals and their friends, in the Temple of Victory (the church of St. Sulpice.) The company conſiſted of near eight hundred perſons, including moſt of the great public functionaries of the Republic. The leading men of the different factions were aſſembled at this feaſt, which ſeemed intended for the purpoſe of ſoftening their perſonal diſlikes by making them ſocial and acquainted with each other. The toaſt given by the Preſident of the Directory was "Peace!" and that by Buonaparte, "A union of all parties:" nevertheleſs, it was evident, that this was a mere dinner of ceremony; the whole company viewed each other with diſtruſt; there was neither mirth nor confidence: and, though the meeting pretended to effect a union of parties, it ſeemed only to put them

further asunder. Buonaparté quitted the room after a few toasts were given; and the whole ceremony did not last three hours.

The company separated, each in mutual distrust of the intentions of the other, and without having felt any desire of subduing their individual animosities, or of repressing their ambitious pretensions. The least inclined of any of the festive band to forego his designs was Buonaparté; for the very evening of the day on which he gave "A union of all parties" as a toast, he met his own party in secret, at the house of M. le Mercier, President of the Council of Ancients, to finally determine on those measures which it had been agreed should be adopted, and to assign to each individual the part that he was destined to act, in the conspiracy against the Directory.

The Committee of Inspectors belonging to the Council of Ancients, at five o'clock in the morning of the 18th Bremaire, (the 9th of November 1799,) sent messages to one hundred and fifty members of that body, who had been selected for that purpose by Buonaparté and his adherents, but of whom very few were acquainted with the conspiracy—they were required to meet at eight o'clock in the Thuilleries. When they met, it appeared that the most violent of the Jacobins, in number about an hundred, were not assembled—they had not been summoned, and were ignorant of the meeting.

Cornet, Reporter of the Committee, opened the meeting with a speech, in which he forcibly stated the dangers of the Republic, and the designs of the factious; and ended with proposing, that the Assembly, according to the 102d and 103d articles of the

Conſtitution, ſhould adjourn to St. Cloud; that the General, Buonaparté, ſhould be charged to put the Decree in execution; and that, for that purpoſe, he ſhould be appointed commander of all the troops in Paris, as well as of the guard of the Aſſemblies, and the National Guard. This Decree was paſſed by a great majority.

"This meaſure (ſaid the Proclamation, that was immediately iſſued) has been adopted by the Council of Anciens in order to repreſs the factions which pretended to enſlave the national repreſentation, and in order to reſtore the internal peace.

"This meaſure is to open a way for the external peace, which your long ſacrifices and humanity demand. This conſtitutional meaſure has no other aim but the ſafety and the proſperity of us all. Such an object ſhall be accompliſhed.

"And you, inhabitants of Paris, be eaſy; in a ſhort time the Legiſlature will return to your city.

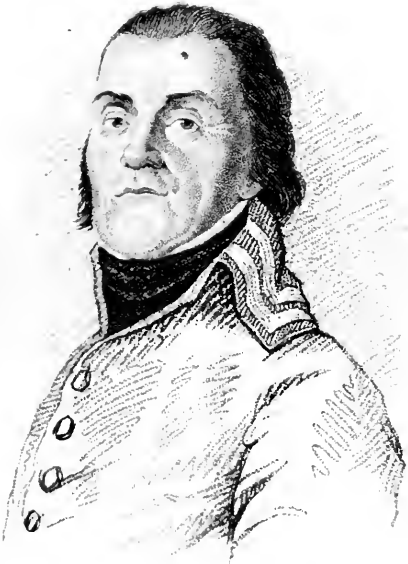
"Frenchmen! the ſubſequent events will ſoon prove whether the Legiſlature may be entruſted with the honourable taſk of preparing your happineſs.

"Long live the People! by and with whom the Commonwealth exiſts."

Buonaparté immediately appeared at the bar, attended by Generals Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and others. Being informed by the Preſident, of his appointment, he ſpake as follows:

"Citizen Repreſentatives!

"The Republic was periſhing—you knew this, and your decree has ſaved it. Woe be to thoſe who wiſh for anarchy, whoever they be! aided by Generals Berthier, Lefebvre, and all my brave companions in arms, I ſhall arreſt their courſe. Let us not ſeek in the paſt for exam-



General Lyons

ples to juſtify the preſent; for nothing in hiſtory reſembles the concluſion of the 18th century, and nothing in that, reſembles the preſent moment.

"Your wiſdom has iſſued this Decree—our arms ſhall execute it. We demand a Republic founded on a juſt baſis, on *true* liberty, on civil liberty and national repreſentation, and we will have it. We will have it—I ſwear it—I ſwear it in my own name, and in the names of my brave comrades."

Lively applauſes proceeded from the tribunes, the Preſident called them to order, the Council became tranquil.—The Preſident ſaid:

"GENERAL!

"The Council of Ancients receives your oath; there is no doubt of your ſincerity, and of your zeal to act. He who never promiſed victories to the country in vain, cannot fail to fulfil his new engagements to ſerve her with fidelity."

Garat requeſted to be heard; but the Preſident obſerved, that after the Decree which the Council had paſſed, there could be no diſcuſſion, either in Paris or elſewhere, before the next day at noon; and the ſitting was diſſolved, amid loud cries of "Long live the Republic!" "Long live the Conſtitution of the Third Year!"

Buonaparté immediately iſſued a Proclamation to the National Guard.

PROCLAMATION.

BONAPARTE, *Commander in Chief, to the Citizens compoſing the National Guard of Paris; the 18th Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.*

"CITIZENS!

"The Council of Ancients depoſitory of the national wiſdom, has juſt enacted the Decree undermentioned,

agreeable to the 102d and 103d articles of the Conſtitution.

"I am intruſted with the choice of meaſures relative to the ſafety of the national repreſentation. Its removal from Paris is neceſſary, and only temporary. The Legiſlature will thereby be able to reſcue the repreſentation from the imminent danger into which the general diſorder in the adminiſtration is on the eve of plunging us all.

"In this important criſis the union and confidence of the patriots are highly neceſſary. Stand, then, by the Legiſlature; it is the only way to eſtabliſh the Republic on the baſis of civil liberty, internal happineſs, victory, and peace.

"Long live the Republic!

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."
"ALEX. BERTHIER."

He alſo iſſued to the troops of the line the following

PROCLAMATION.

BONAPARTE, *Commander in Chief, to the Soldiers. Head Quarters at Paris, the 18th of Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.*

"SOLDIERS!

"The extraordinary Decree of the Council of Elders is authorized by the 102d and 103d articles of the Conſtitution. I am entruſted with the command of the city and of the army:

"I have accepted it, in order to ſupport the meaſures of the Legiſlature, all of which are in favour of the people.

"*The Republic, for the two laſt years, has been ill governed. You have hoped that my return would put an end to ſo many evils*; you have rejoiced at it with a cordiality which lays on me the duties I fulfil: you will fulfil yours, and ſupport your General with that energy, that ſteadineſs, and that confidence, which I have always ſeen in you.

"Liberty, victory, and peace, will again restore the French Republic to the rank which she held in Europe, and which she could only lose through ignorance or treachery.—Long live the Republic!

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."
"ALEX. BERTHIER."

Beside these Proclamations, Buonaparté gave the following:

GENERAL ORDERS.

"Paris, the 18th of Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible."

"According to the decree of the Council of Elders, dated this day, which confers on General Bonaparté the command of the 17th military division of the guards of the Legislature, of those of the Executive Directory, of the troops of the line actually in Paris, in the constitutional circle, (twelve leagues around Paris) and in the whole extent of the 17th division—

"General Bonaparté appoints the General of Division, Lefebvre, to be his first lieutenant, and the General of Brigade, Andreossi, Chief of the General Staff, having under his orders the General-Adjutants Caffarelli and Doucet.

"The General of Division, Murat, commands all the cavalry.

"The General of Division, Lannes, commands in the National Palace of Elders; the Chief of his Staff will be the Chief of Brigade, Milhaud.

"The General of Brigade, Marmont, commands the artillery.

"The General of Division, Berruyer, holds still the command of the invalids.

"The General of Brigade, Morand, holds still the command of Paris."

(Signed) "BONAPARTE.
"The General of Division,
ALEX BERTHIER."

Thefe Proclamations and Orders, iffued on the morning of the 18th Brumaire, had been prepared fome time before the circumftances occurred which gave rife to the neceffity of their being promulgated. —They had lain in the bureaus of the new revolutionifts until the day when they were either to be ufeful or ufelefs; when, if the propofed revolution was effected, they were to be circulated amongft the troops, and to be read by all the Parifians; and, when, if it had not fucceeded, they would have been committed to the flames. The Proclamations were for the events, and the events for the Proclamations; and hardly had the events happened before the walls of Paris were placarded with the Proclamations, and the good citizens were indulging their curiofity on the tendency of the meafures which had been fo unexpectedly adopted.

The minifter of General Police, Fouche, alfo iffued the following

PROCLAMATION.

GENERAL POLICE.—*The 18th Brumaire, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivifible. The Minifter of the General Police of the Republic to his fellow-citizens.*

"CITIZENS!

"The Republic was threatened with an imminent deftruction.

"The Legiflature has juft fupported liberty on the very brink of ruin, to render it immortal.

"The events have been prepared for our happinefs, and for that of pofterity.

"Let all the Republicans be eafy, fince their wifhes are to be accomplifhed; let them be deaf to the perfidious infinuations of thofe who only look after troubles in the political events, and after the perpetuity of commotions and vengeance in the troubles.

"Let the weak perſons cheer up again; they are ſupported by power. Let every one mind his own buſineſs and domeſtic concerns, in perfect ſecurity.

"Let them only be afraid and cautious who are ſpreading alarms, miſleading the people, and preparing the diſorders. All the repreſſive meaſures are taken and in readineſs; the inſtigators of troubles, the abettors of royalty, all thoſe who would dare to make an attempt againſt public or private ſafety, ſhall be ſeized and puniſhed.

(Signed) "The Miniſter of Police,
FOUCHE."

The Central Adminiſtration of Paris likewiſe iſſued a Proclamation; which, after recounting the diſorders of the country, and that peace alone would put an end to them, concludes thus:

"General Bonaparté, on whom every ſoldier and every citizen may juſtly rely, is intruſted with the care of your ſafety and with that of the Legiſlature in this awful criſis; and you will ſee him with pleaſure acquire a new glory, by contributing among you to the welfare of the people."

This Proclamation was ſigned by the celebrated Banker Lecouteulx-Canteleu, Preſident, and by Réal the Commiſſary.

On the inſtant that the Decree of the Council of Ancients had paſſed, Buonaparté marched 10,000 troops to the Thuilleries, and guarded every avenue to the place ſo effectually, that no one was permitted to paſs either into the courts, the garden, or within the walls of the caſtle. He had previouſly formed all his diſpoſitions, and he harangued his troops in the great court, while three of the Directors, and all the reſt of Paris, were completely ignorant of what was going forward, until the publication of his Proclamations.—The Directors, Sieyes and Roger Du-

cos, the latter of whom was entirely governed by the former, being both in the ſecret, waited in ſilence the reſult of the meeting. Sieyes was walking in the garden of the Luxembourg, and Ducos was in his own apartments, when they were informed of what had paſſed: they ordered their horſes, galloped immediately to the Thuilleries, and joined the two committees of inſpection, the generals, and the reſt of the military, who were in deliberation upon the meaſures to be taken for putting the decree of the Council of Ancients in execution.

The Director Barras, had been required to give in his reſignation very early in the morning, and the lady, through whom the requeſt came, was empowered to offer him any pecuniary aſſiſtance he might require: he at firſt appeared to be violently irritated, but in a little time he became more calm, and acknowledged that the government required ſome vigorous individual at its head, for it was impoſſible it could go on with five people, who had no confidence in each other; but ſtill he refuſed to ſend in his reſignation.

Gohier, who was that morning to have breakfaſted with Buonaparté, was extremely ſurpriſed, ſoon after he got up, to find what had paſſed, but, particularly, at the decree for transferring the Aſſemblies to St. Cloud: he went, however, into the audience chamber of the Directory, and ſent for his colleagues. Moulins, who was equally ſurpriſed, came to him immediately; but they were both ſtill more ſo when they heard that Sieyes was gone to the Thuilleries; they then ſent for Ducos, and found he was there alſo: Barras was ſummoned next, and he refuſed to come. Gohier ſent immediately for La Garde, the Secretary General, and

ordered him to regiſter a decree, which he dictated to him; but La Garde anſwered, "That as two members could not make a majority of the Directory, it was impoſſible for him to do as he requeſted." Moulins became extremely agitated, and propoſed immediately to ſend a guard to inveſt the houſe of Buonaparté, and keep him a priſoner; but he was told, that it would be impoſſible, for every ſoldier then in Paris was under Buonaparté's command. General Lefebvre was requeſted to attend them: but he confirmed what they had before heard, and ſaid, "That as he was under the orders orders of Buonaparté, he could not march a ſingle man without his permiſſion." They then deſpaired of retaining their power; and in a few minutes the Luxembourg was inveſted with a ſtrong guard, ſent there by Buonaparté.

By the Conſtitution it was requiſite that the act for transferring the Aſſemblies to St. Cloud ſhould be ſigned by a majority of the Directory; and Gohier, impelled by that curioſity and indeciſion that characterizes weakneſs, went to the Thuilleries and added his name to thoſe of Sieyes and Ducos. Unwilling to part with his dignity, he repented of what he had done; and when the great ſeal of ſtate, which was in in his poſſeſſion, as Preſident, was demanded of him, he refuſed to give it up. As ſoon as he returned to the Luxembourg a ſtrong guard was immediately appointed over him, and he remained a priſoner in the Directorial Palace.

Moulins was ſo overpowered by fear that he jumped out of a window which looked into the garden, and hid himſelf among the buſhes till he could get quietly away: he was thought of ſo little conſequence that no one attempted to look after him.

At noon Barras ſent his reſignation to Buonaparté, by his ſecretary, Botot. The Ex-director remained in a carriage near the Thuilleries till Botot returned with the reſult of his meſſage. Buonaparté was in the apartment of the Inſpectors when Botot deſired to ſpeak with him: he was introduced by Courtois, and having given the paper to the General, he inquired, in a low voice, what Barras had to expect from him. "Tell that man," ſaid Buonaparté, "that I deſire to hear no more of him, and that I will cauſe the authority I am intruſted with to be reſpected." Then, raiſing his voice loud enough to be heard even by thoſe who were in the antichamber, he continued to addreſs the aſtoniſhed Secretary: "What have you done," ſaid Buonaparté, "with the country which I left you ſo flouriſhing? I left you at peace, and I have found you at war: I left you victory, and I have found defeat: I left you conqueſt, and the enemy are paſſing our frontiers: I left you the treaſures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppreſſion and poverty. Where are the hundred thouſand heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? what is become of them? alas! they are no more! This ſtate of things cannot laſt long, in three years it will end in deſpotiſm: *but we are for a Republic, founded on the baſis of equality, civil liberty, and political toleration.* If you believe the aſſertions of the factious, we are the enemies of the Republic; we, who have ſtrengthened it by our labours and cemented it by our blood! but we wiſh for no better patriots than the brave men who have ſuffered in its ſervice."

This harangue was highly applauded; and Botot retired in confuſion, to acquaint Barras with what had paſſed. Barras obtained leave to retire to his ſuperb

eſtate of *Gros Bois*, and a party of horſe attended him, as a guard of ſafety.

During this time the Council of Five Hundred had aſſembled, filled with diſtruſt and fear, not knowing upon which of their colleagues they were to rely, and dreading the treachery of ſome whom they had no ground even to ſuſpect. Theſe alarms had been occaſioned by the decree of the Council of Ancients and the extraordinary events of the morning: not knowing the cauſes from which thoſe occurrences had originated, they were fluctuating between the conjecture and expectation which vague and contradictory rumours had excited, when the Preſident, Lucien Buonaparté, entered the hall: eagerneſs was depicted in moſt of their countenances whilſt he ſeated himſelf. From him they expected an authentic account of the proceedings of the morning and the objects to which they were directed. Lucien Buonaparté had been choſen their Preſident ſome days before; and it was only known to a very few of the members, who had aſſiſted in procuring his appointment, that it was a meaſure effected by the management and intrigue of the new party to aſſiſt their deſigns upon the Government.

To Lucien, then, the brother of General Buonaparté, every eye was turned—The *procès verbal* was read, and all were eager to ſpeak. The Preſident aroſe, and read the Decree from the Council of Ancients, which removed the Legiſlative Body to the palace of St. Cloud. A violent clamour inſtantly aroſe: the Preſident declared the ſitting diſſolved, amidſt a ſtrong oppoſition: and he immediately quitted the hall, with ſeveral of the members, who were attached to the new order of affairs.

The time which was not occupied by theſe events, and the whole remainder of the day and night, was employed by Buonaparté, and the other generals and public men, with Sieyes at their head, in preparing and arranging the buſineſs of the next day. The Directory now no longer exiſted: Barras was exiled to his country ſeat under a guard of dragoons; Gohier and Moulins had been put in confinement at the Luxembourg; and the other two Directors, Sieyes and Ducos, were accelerating the new changes. Every public ſtreet and ſquare in Paris was paraded by different parties of ſoldiery.

CHAPTER XXVII.

NINETEENTH OF BRUMAIRE.—*Sittings of the Legiſlative Body at St. Cloud.—The Jacobins carry ſeveral Motions in the Council of Five Hundred.—Barras formally ſends in his Reſignation.—Buonaparté's Speech in the Council of Ancients.—He repairs to the Council of Five Hundred; on entering their Hall narrowly eſcapes Aſſaſſination by being reſcued.—The Military aſſure him of their Fidelity.—Danger of the Preſident, Lucien Buonaparté, in advocating his Brother.—He is alſo reſcued, and acquaints the Council of Ancients with the Proceedings in the Council of Five Hundred.—Speech of Lucien Buonaparté to the Soldiery.—Buonaparté orders the Members of the Council of Five Hundred to be expelled from their Hall.—The Soldiery drive them through the Doors and Windows.—Decree of the Council of Ancients thereon.—A ſelect Number of the Council of Five Hundred meet, under the Protection of the Military.—They decree Buonaparté to have deſerved well of the Country.—Decree of Urgency, creating a new Government, and appointing Sieyes, Ducos, and Buonaparté, Conſuls.—Addreſs of the Legiſlative Body to the French People.—Proclamation of Buonaparté to the People.—Speech of Lucien Buonaparté on the Conſuls taking the Oaths.—The Conſuls arrive at Paris from St. Cloud.—Addreſs of the Conſuls to the French People.—Completion of the new Revolution.*

THE 19th of Brumaire (10th of November) was big with important events. The caſtle of St. Cloud was ſurrounded by troops in the morning before day-

light. In conformity to the decree of the Council of Ancients, that body and the Council of Five Hundred were to hold their ſittings there at noon: by that time the members had repaired there in great numbers. Every avenue being ſtrictly guarded, the Deputies could not paſs without ſhewing their medal: only a few other individuals, who had tickets, were permitted to enter with them. The Picture Gallery was appointed for the Council of Ancients and the Orangerie for the Council of Five Hundred: but the ſittings, which had been appointed for twelve, did not take place till two o'clock, owing to the preparations of the workmen not being finiſhed.

The debates were opened in the Council of Five Hundred by a ſpeech from Gaudin, propoſing a committee of ſeven members, to take into conſideration the beſt means of providing for the public ſafety. It was expected that this motion would have been immediately carried; but ſcarcely had it been ſuggeſted, when ſeveral members of the Jacobin party darted forward into the tribune, all eager to be heard. The cry of "Down with dictators!" became general: others exclaimed, "The Conſtitution or death! we are not afraid of bayonets, we will die at our poſt!" and ſome propoſed that every member ſhould take a freſh oath to preſerve the Conſtitution. The members of the other party were ſo much thrown off their guard, that the cry of "Long live the Conſtitution!" became general, and the motion for taking the oath was agreed to. This was a great victory for the Jacobins, it gave them time, which was all they wanted. The ceremony of renewing the oath took up two hours: and when this was over, various propoſitions were offered and diſcuſſed amidſt great confuſion.

At length ſome motions were propoſed and adopted, totally oppoſite to the intentions of thoſe who had procured the adjournment of the meeting to St. Cloud.

A letter was now brought in, addreſſed to the Council: it was opened by the Preſident, who announced that it came from Barras. On being read, it imported his reſignation, but was couched in ſuch guarded and ambiguous terms as ſeemed to intimate a deſire to be employed in the new Government; and the letter gave riſe to a violent debate, on the queſtion, Whether the aſſembly ſhould proceed to the election of a new Director? Much of the confuſion aroſe from the members who were well diſpoſed towards a change of government, but who had come to the Aſſembly totally ignorant of what was intended by Buonaparté. They had been eaſily induced to liſten to the extravagant reports which were circulated by the Jacobins, who produced all the confuſion which had ariſen.

The danger became imminent, and the prevention of a civil war required that ſome vigorous meaſures ſhould be taken to complete the revolution. Buonaparté being informed of the tumultuous diſcuſſions became violently agitated. He haſtened to the Council of Ancients, and, having left his arms in an antichamber, entered the Aſſembly, and requeſted permiſſion to addreſs the ſitting. Leave was given, and he inſtantly delivered the following harangue with great animation.

"Repreſentatives of the People!

"You are placed in no common circumſtances; you are on the mouth of a volcano, which is ready to devour you. Permit me to ſpeak to you with the frankneſs of a ſol-

dier and the candour of a citizen, zealous for the welfare of his country; and ſuſpend, I beſeech you, your judgments, until I have finiſhed what I have to ſay.

"I was living peaceably at Paris when I received your Decree, which informed me of your dangers, and I haſtened to come to your aſſiſtance, with my brother ſoldiers. Is not the blood which we have ſhed in battle a ſufficient proof of our devoted attachment to the Republic, of our pure and diſintereſted motives? Have they who dare to lift their voices againſt us given ſimilar pledges? as a reward for our ſervices, they load us with calumnies, and talk of a modern Cæſar, a ſecond Cromwell. They ſpeak of a military government and a conſpiracy. Alas! the moſt dangerous of all conſpiracies is that which ſurrounds us every where, that of the public miſery which continues to increaſe.

"It would be ſacrilegious to attempt the deſtruction of a repreſentative government in the age of knowledge and liberty. No one, but a madman, would attempt to ruin the ſucceſs of a republic over all the royalty of Europe, after having ſupported it with ſo much glory and peril as I have done. Have not ignorance, folly, and treaſon reigned long enough in our country? have they not committed ſufficient ravages? what claſs has not, in turn, ſuffered by them? Have not Frenchmen been long enough divided into parties, eager and deſirous to oppreſs each other? The time is at length arrived to put an end to theſe diſaſters. You have charged me to preſent you with the means, and I will not deceive your expectations.

"If I had had any perſonal or ambitious objects in view; if I had wiſhed to cruſh the liberty of my country; if I had wiſhed to uſurp the ſupreme authority, I ſhould not have obeyed the orders you gave me; I ſhould have had no occaſion for the mandate of the Senate.—More than once, in extremely favourable circumſtances, have I been called to take the reins of government. After our tri-

umphs in Italy, I was invited to it by the desire of the nation, by the request of my comrades, and by that of the soldiers, who have been oppressed in my absence; of the soldiers who are still obliged to carry on a most horrible war in the departments, which wisdom and order had calmed, and which folly and treason have rekindled.

"The country has not a more zealous defender than myself; I am entirely devoted to the execution of your orders; but it is on you alone that its safety depends—for the Directory is no more. Four of the magistrates who composed it have given in their resignations; dangers press hard; the evil augments; the Minister of Police has just informed me, that in La Vendee several places are already fallen into the hands of the Chouans. The Council of Ancients is invested with great power; but, it is also animated by still greater wisdom; consult that alone, consider the near approach of dangers, and prevent anarchy. Let us endeavour to preserve the two objects for which we have made so many sacrifices—Liberty and Equality. Liberty alone is dear to me, and I never wish to serve any faction or party whatever. I wish to serve the French people alone. Let us not then be divided. Unite your wisdom and your firmness to the force which surrounds me, and I will devote myself to the safety of the Republic."

"And of the Constitution!" exclaimed Moreau de l'Yonne.

"The Constitution!" replied Bonaparté with indignant warmth. "Does it become you to name it? what is it but a heap of ruins? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have you not trampled upon it on the 18th Fructidor, the 28th Floreal, and 28th Prairial?—The Constitution! Has not every kind of tyranny been exercised in its name since the day of its establishment? Who has been, or who can be, safe under it? Is not its insufficiency manifested by the numerous crimes which have

been committed in its name, even by those who are swearing to it a contemptuous fidelity? All the rights of the people have been indignantly violated.

"To re-establish those rights on a firm foundation, we must labour to consolidate the Republic and liberty of France.

"As soon as these objects be attained, and the dangers of the country shall have subsided, I will abdicate the command which has been committed to me, and will become the supporting arm of the magistracy, whom you may think proper to nominate."

Cornudet here eagerly confirmed the assertions of Buonaparté, "and" said he, "I am acquainted with some *criminal opinions* that are entertained of the General, which can only be developed and discussed in the absence of strangers."

The spectators were ordered to withdraw, and as soon as the Hall was cleared Buonaparté continued:

"Criminal opinions! I could reveal to you circumstances which would instantly confound my calumniators. But it is enough to tell you, that even two of your late magistrates—the Directors Barras and Moulins, themselves, advised me to overturn the Government, and put myself at the head of affairs. I repulsed these overtures, because liberty is dearer to me than life. Several factions have tendered me their services, but I have rejected all their overtures as unworthy the ear of a Republican.

"I speak with the frankness of a soldier. I am a stranger to the art of eloquence; I have always followed the God of War, and Fortune and the God of War are with me. Be not afraid, Representatives of the People! of criminal plots; I, and my brave comrades shall ever be ready to defend you, and the Republic.—(*Glancing his eyes towards the soldiers, who were on duty within the Hall,*) "I appeal fellow soldiers," said he, "to you—You, before whom the Jacobins desire to make me appear the enemy of liberty—You, grenadiers, whose caps I see; you,

ſoldiers, whoſe bayonets I have ſo often directed to the ſhame and confuſion of our enemies, and to the laſting diſgrace; and which you have ſo often employed in the foundation of ſeveral republics—I entreat you to turn thoſe dreadful bayonets againſt my own breaſt, if ever you behold me abandon the cauſe of liberty.

"Repreſentatives of the People! I conjure you to adopt the moſt prompt and energetic meaſures to ſave the country."—Buonaparté now retired.

The Council of Five Hundred were engaged in violent diſcuſſion, when Buonaparté ſuddenly entered the Hall, unarmed, and accompanied by a few grenadiers alſo without arms, and who waited within the door.—He advanced towards the top of the Hall, and the Council was inſtantly in motion: "A General here!" cried they, "what does Buonaparté want with us? This is not your place. Some of the members flew to the tribunes, others haſtened towards Buonaparté, vehemently exclaiming, "No dictators! Down with the Tyrant! Down with him! Kill him, kill him!" He was puſhed back and ſtruck at. Several of the Council drew poniards and piſtols; and Arena, a native of Corſica, and one of the Deputies, aimed a blow at him with a dagger. Thome, a grenadier, parried it with his arm, and was wounded.—By another blow Buonaparté was wounded in the cheek.

The Preſident, Lucien Buonaparté, with great difficulty obtained leave to ſpeak: "The General," ſaid he, "has, undoubtedly, no other intention than to acquaint the Council with the preſent ſituation of affairs."—Loud clamours and threats prevented his being heard any further; and the General was ſo overpowered by the number of thoſe who ruſhed forward to attack him, that he was on the point of falling, when General Lefebvre ruſhed into the Hall with a body of armed grenadiers, who ſurrounded him and carried him out. As ſoon as the ſoldiers had left the Hall, the members inſtantly decreed, that the Council of Ancients had no power to inveſt Buonaparté with the

command, as that authority could be conferred by the Directory alone. The President, Lucien, animadverted with great energy on the disorders of the day, and on the ferocious insults which some of the members had offered towards an illustrious general, who had rendered the most signal and permanent services to the Republic.—Several members cried out, "Outlaw him! he has disgraced his military character, and he deserves death from the hand of every patriot:" others said, "The *President* is in the conspiracy, or he would have proclaimed the General outlawed."—The Assembly had become a mob, and the President was attacked on all sides.—His authority being no longer submitted to, and his life even endangered; he darted from the chair—indignantly stripped himself of the insignia of his office, and made his way to the tribune; when he had mounted it, he attempted to make himself be heard—his voice was drowned in loud cries against himself and his brother.—He violently exerted himself, but to no effect; and tears of agony and indignation started from his eyes. His destruction seemed almost inevitable.

When the soldiers, by whom General Buonaparté was rescued, had escorted him to the outside of the Hall, in a few instants recovered from the fatigue of his late danger.—He hastened to the court of the castle, where the troops were drawn up, and instantly addressed them; "Soldiers" said he, "Everybody thought that the Council of Five Hundred would save the country, but, instead of that, I have seen only a furious and outrageous mob, ready to destroy me. I have some enemies; Comrades, may I rely on you."—"Yes, yes," shouted they, "Long live Buonaparté!"—He selected some grenadiers, who threw open the doors of the Hall, just as Lucien had feared that he should fall by the stilettos of the Deputies. He was carried off amidst their vociferations, and he immediately proceeded to the Council of Ancients, to whom he related the recent danger of his brother and himself, in the Council of Five Hundred.—Lucien was interrupted

in his ſpeech, by Regnier obſerving the irregularity of letting a member of the Council of Five Hundred ſpeak in the Council of Elders. This objection, however was overlooked, and Lucien Buonaparté afterwards went to his brother, who was inſpiriting the troops to the accompliſhment of his object: after a moment's conference with the General, Lucien mounted a horſe, in order to be better ſeen and heard, and addreſſed the ſoldiers to the following effect:

"CITIZENS!—As Preſident of the Council of Five Hundred I declare to you, that the immenſe majority of the Council is now ſubdued by the terror of ſome repreſentatives, armed with poniards, and threatening with death thoſe who would refuſe to comply with their deſtructive meaſures. I declare to you, that thoſe audacious aſſaſſins, no doubt paid by England, are in a ſtate of rebellion againſt the Council of Ancients, and have threatened with an outlawry the very General intruſted with the wiſe meaſures of that Council; as if we were ſtill in the dreadful times of their reign, when the word *outlawed!* was ſufficient to cut off the moſt illuſtrious heads of the country. I declare to you, that thoſe few aſſaſſins are themſelves outlawed for having attacked the liberty of that Council. In the name of the people, who, ſince ſo many years, are the victims of thoſe wretched children of terror, I entruſt to the brave ſoldiers the honourable taſk of reſcuing the majority of the Repreſentatives; in order, that, after being protected by the bayonets againſt the poniards, they may be able to deliberate for the welfare of the Republic.

"General! Soldiers! and Citizens! you will only acknowledge for French legiſlators theſe who follow me out of that ſeditious aſſembly; thoſe who remain in the Orangerie muſt be driven from thence by force. Thoſe aſſaſſins are not repreſentatives of the people, but *repreſentatives of the poniard:* ſuch ſhall be their title wherever they may go; and, whenever they will dare to ſhow themſelves to the people, let them be pointed at under the deſerved appellation of "Repreſentatives of the poniard."

Lucien Buonaparté concluded his ſpeech by crying out, "Long live the Republic!" and the ſoldiers ſhouted, "Long live the Republic! Long live Buonaparté!"

General Serrurier made the following ſhort and energetic ſpeech to the ſoldiers:

"SOLDIERS!—The Council of Elders approves General Buonaparté, whom the Council of Five Hundred has attempted to aſſaſſinate. Villains! we will overcome them, and peace ſhall be reſtored."

The troops were then ordered to enter the hall of the Council of Five Hundred. The commanding officer exclaimed: "General Buonaparté commands us to clear the hall." The grenadiers advanced and filled the firſt half of the hall, the other half was occupied by the Deputies who did not retire, and who had crowded round the Preſident's chair. A member, called Talot, ſaid to the ſoldiers: "What are you ſoldiers? You are the guardians of the national repreſentation—and you dare to menace its ſafety and independence! Is it thus you tarniſh the laurels you have gained in battle?" Many of the members addreſſed the ſoldiers, conjuring them in the name of Liberty not to follow their leaders. The drums now beat and the voices of the members could not be heard. The grenadiers then brought their muſkets to the charge, and a dreadful ſcene of alarm and diſmay was exhibited by the tardy Deputies: in their haſte to eſcape from the bayonets of the ſoldiers they choaked up the windows and doors and tumbled over one another. The chamber was ſoon cleared of them, amidſt the cries, by the ſoldiers, of "Long live the Republic! Long live Buonaparté!" and they were received on the outſide by the hootings and hiſſes of the people.

The Council of Ancients was acquainted with the occurrences in the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, and at ſix o'clock they iſſued a decree, to the following purport:

"Conſidering the *retreat* of the Council of Five Hundred, and that of four Directors, the fifth (Gohier) being confined, a temporary executive commiſſion, of three members, ſhall be appointed.

"The Legiſlature is adjourned to the 1ſt of Nivoſe next, (December 22) when it will meet again in Paris, without farther convocation.

"During the receſs there will be an intermedial commiſſion of the Council of Ancients, the only exiſting one, in order to protect the rights of the national repreſentation.

"The intermedial commiſſion is authorized to convoke the Legiſlature previous to that time, if it deems that convenient.

"The ſitting is adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening, when the Council ſhall proceed to the execution of the above-mentioned meaſures."

About nine o'clock thoſe members of the Council of Five Hundred who had followed Lucien Buonaparté, their Preſident, were again aſſembled in the Orangerie, under the protection of the troops. Lucien once more took the chair in ſafety, and ſent a meſſage to the Council to inform them of their having met: he then moved the following Reſolutions, which were immediately paſſed:

"The Council of Five Hundred declares, That General Buonaparté, and the other generals and officers commanding the troops, as likewiſe the ſoldiers employed at St. Cloud, having ſaved the majority of the Legiſlature and the Republic, attacked by a factious minority, compoſed of aſſaſſins, have deſerved well of their country.

"The Council declares, That the two brave grenadiers, Thomas Thome and I. B. Poiret, who have defended General Buonaparté againſt the poniards of the aſſaſſins, have alſo deſerved well of the country."

Chazal propoſed that a committee of five members ſhould be appointed to conſider the propriety of forming a new government: after this was adopted Lucien Buonaparté quitted the Preſident's chair, mounted the tribune, and pronounced an animated harangue on the diſaſters of the Republic, ariſing from the miſconduct of the late government, and the neceſſity of appointing a new one. His ſpeech was received with the loudeſt applauſe and repeated cries of

"Long live the Republic!" Boulay de la Meurthe soon after returned with the report of the secret committee, containing the project of a decree for appointing a new government: he prefaced his motion by a long speech, in which he enlarged on the profligacy and incapacity of the Directory, as well as on the defects of the Constitution itself, and the necessity of a strong executive power, to give solidity to the state, and prevent the return of anarchy.

The Council then passed the following decree, in sixteen articles.

1st. "There is no longer an Executive Directory, and the following persons are no longer members of the national representation, on account of the excesses and the violent attempts which they have uniformly made, and particularly the greater part of them in the sitting of this morning:

Joubert, Jonanne, Talot, Duplantier, Arena, Garaud, Quirot, Leclerc, Chappers, Briche, Poulain—Grandpre, Bertrand, Goupilleau, Daubermesnil, Marquesi, Guesdon, Grandmaison, Crocassand, Dormond, Frison, Dessaix, Bergasse, Laziroul, Montpellier, Constant, Briot, Destrem, Carrere, Lagarriere, Gorraud, Legot, Blin, Boulay Paty, Sonilhe, Demoor, Rigonet, Mentor, Boissier, Bailly, Bourier, Prichet, Honore Declerc, Bouffot, Gastin, Laurent, Reitz, Prudhom, Porte, Truck, Delbrez, Leyris, Doche, Dehille, Stevenotte, Lesage Senault, Chalemele, Andre, Memartelle, Colombel, Phillippe, Moreau, Jourdan, Letourneur, Citadella, Jourdan and Bordas.

2d. The Legislative Body creates, provisionally, an Executive Consular Committee, composed of citizens SIEYES and ROGER DUCOS, Ex-directors, and BUONAPARTE, General. They shall bear the name of "CONSULS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC."

3d. This Committee is invested with the full powers of the Directory, and especially commissioned to organize order in all parts of the administration, to re-establish internal tranquillity, and to procure an honourable and solid peace.

4th. It is authorized to ſend delegates with a power limited according to its own power.

5th. The Legiſlative Body is adjourned to the 20th of February: it is to meet at that period, in full power, at Paris.

6th. During the adjournment of the Legiſlative Body the members ſhall preſerve their indemnity and their conſtitutional ſecurity.

7th. They may, without loſing their quality as repreſentatives of the people, be employed as miniſters, diplomatic agents, delegates of the executive conſular committee, and in all other civil functions; they are even invited, in the name of the public good, to accept them.

8th. Before their ſeparation, and during the time of their ſitting, each Council ſhall name, from among their members, a committee of twenty-five members.

9th. The Committees appointed by the Two Councils will, in conjunction with the Committee of the Executive Conſulate, determine upon all urgent objects relative to the police, legiſlation, and finance.

10th. To the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred will belong the right of propoſing, and to that of the Council of Elders that of ſanctioning them.

11th. The Two Committees will alſo, in the order above-mentioned, regulate the changes in thoſe parts of the Conſtitution which experience may have ſhewn to be inconvenient or vicious.

12th. Theſe changes can have no other object but that of conſolidating and guaranteeing inviolably the ſovereignty of the people; the republic one and indiviſible; the repreſentative ſyſtem; the diviſion of power; liberty, equality; and the ſafety of property.

13th. The Executive Conſulate Committee may lay before the other Committees their views upon theſe ſubjects.

14th. The Two Committees are charged to prepare a civil code.

15th. Their ſittings will be held at Paris, in the palace

of the Legiſlative Body, and they may be convoked extraordinarily, for the ratification of peace, or in caſe of great public danger.

16th. Theſe Reſolutions ſhall be printed, and ſent, by extraordinary couriers, to the departments, and ſolemnly publiſhed and ſtuck up in all the communes of the Republic."

This Decree was ſent to the Council of Ancients, and the Council of Five Hundred compoſed the following Addreſs from the Legiſlative Body to the French People:

St. Cloud, 10th November, 1799.

"FRENCHMEN!—The Republic has, once more, been ſaved from the attacks of the factious. Your faithful Repreſentatives have broken the poniards in the hands of the aſſaſſins, who threatened you with deſtruction: they felt that it was time to terminate for ever ſuch terrible commotions; and, having conſulted but their duty and their courage, they are confident to have proved worthy of their conſtituents.

"Frenchmen! your mutilated liberty, ſtill bleeding from the wounds made by the Revolutionary Government, thought to have found ſhelter under a conſtitution which promiſed at leaſt ſome reſt. The want of repoſe was generally felt, a deep terror was ſtill impreſſed on every ſoul, and the awful criſis was not forgotten. Your military glory might have effaced the moſt wonderful achievements of antiquity. Struck with admiration, the Europeans were elated with your glory, and made ſecret vows for the object you aimed at; in ſhort, your enemies ſued for peace: everything ſeemed to co-operate to enſure you, at laſt, the peaceful enjoyment of liberty and happineſs; that happineſs and that liberty which alone can enſure it ſeemed likely to reward ſuch generous endeavours. But ſeditious men have conſtantly attacked with boldneſs the weak ſide of your Conſtitution; they have cunningly availed themſelves of thoſe articles which might lead to new commotions. The conſtitutional ſyſtem has been but a ſtring of revolutions, in

different ſhapes, of which the ſeveral factions have taken advantage: even thoſe who wiſhed the moſt to abide by the Conſtitution have been often compelled to enforce its violation to prevent its deſtruction. From ſuch an unſettled ſtate of government proceeded the ſtill more unſettled ſtate of legiſlation, and the moſt ſacred rights of ſocial man have been abandoned to the whims of factions and events. It is high time to put a period to ſuch commotions; it is high time to give ſolid guarantees to the liberty of the citizens, to the ſovereignty of the people, to the independence of the conſtitutional powers; in a word, to the Commonwealth, the name of which has ſerved but too often to authorize the violation of all principles: it is high time that the Great Nation may have a becoming government, a ſteady and wiſe government, who may give you a ſpeedy and ſolid peace, and enſure you a real happineſs. Frenchmen! thoſe are the motives which have occaſioned the energetic meaſures of the legiſlature. In order to obtain more rapidly the final and complete reſtoration of every branch of the adminiſtration a temporary government is inſtituted: they are inveſted with a ſufficient power to enforce the reſpect of the laws, to protect the peaceful citizens, and to repreſs all the conſpirators and wicked men. Royalty ſhall no longer rear its head: the frightful remains of the revolutionary government ſhall diſappear; republic and liberty ſhall ceaſe to be phantoms: a new age ſhall begin. Frenchmen! ſtand by your magiſtrates: nothing can diminiſh the zeal of thoſe who have had the courage to conceive ſuch flattering and ſublime hopes for your welfare: the ſucceſs now depends on your confidence, on your union, and on your wiſdom. Soldiers of liberty! you will be deaf to every perfidious inſinuation; you will purſue your victorious career; you will conquer peace, in order to come back among your brothers, to enjoy all the bleſſings you have enſured them, and to receive from the national gratitude the honours and the rewards worthy of your glorious deeds.

"Long live the Republic!"

Buonaparté, in the interim, was bufied in preparing a Proclamation, with the affiftance of his fecretary, Bourienne, and it was iffued at eleven o'clock at night, on the 19th Brumaire, (10th November, 1799) in the following form:

PROCLAMATION

Of the Commander in Chief, BUONAPARTE.

"On my return to Paris I found difcord reigning among all the Conftituted Authorities, and that they agreed only refpecting one truth, viz. 'That the conftitution was half deftroyed, and was unable to fave the caufe of Liberty.' All parties came to me, entrufted me with their defigns, difclofed to me their fecrets, and folicited my fupport. I refufed to lend myfelf to any party. The Council of Elders called me before them. I obeyed the call. A plan of general reftoration had been concerted by men in whom the nation is accuftomed to behold the defenders of liberty, of equality, of property. This plan required a calm and free inveftigation, unbiafed by any influence or by any fears. Agreeably to this idea, the Council of Elders refolved upon transferring the Legiflative Body to St. Cloud: they charged me with the military force neceffary to protect their independence. I deemed it a duty I owed to my fellow citizens, the foldiers, who are perifhing in our armies, and the national glory, acquired by their blood, to accept that command. The Councils affembled at St. Cloud; the Republican troops watch over their external fecurity; but affaffins make terror prevail in the interior. Several Deputies of the Council of Five Hundred, armed with ftilettos and piftols, circulated all around them the threats and terrors of death. The plans that were to be developed are limited; the majority diforganized, the moft intrepid fpeakers difconcerted, and the propofal and agitation of any wife meafure became utterly ufelefs., I communicated my indignation and my forrow to the Council of Elders; I requefted to be allowed to fecure the execution of their generous defigns; I repreferted to them the calamities of the

country by which they had been ſuggeſted; they joined me in new teſtimonies of their conſtant determination. I appeared in the Council of Five Hundred alone, without arms, my head uncovered, ſuch as the Elders had received and applauded me. I went to remind the majority of the intentions by which they were animated, and to aſſure them that they might rely on their power. The ſtilettos, by which the Deputies were menaced, were immediately raiſed againſt him who wiſhed to be their deliverer. Twenty aſſaſſins darted upon me and aimed at my breaſt; the grenadiers of the Legiſlative Body, whom I had left at the door of the hall, ran up and threw themſelves between the aſſaſſins and me; one of theſe brave grenadiers, named Thome, received a blow of a ſtiletto, which pierced his cloaths—they carried me off. At the ſame moment, the cries of "Declare *him an outlaw*!" were heard againſt the man who wiſhed to defend the law. It was the frantic cry of the aſſaſſin againſt the force deſtined to rob him of his prey.—They thronged round the Preſident with threats in their mouths, and arms in their hands; they ordered him to put the queſtion of outlawry. I was informed of this, and gave orders to reſcue him from their fury, and accordingly ſix grenadiers brought him out. Immediately after, ſome grenadiers of the Legiſlative Body entered, at the *pas de charge*, into the hall, and cleared it. The factious leaders, being thus intimidated, diſperſed and went away. The majority, reſcued from their attempts, freely and peaceably returned to the hall of their ſittings, and heard the propoſitions which were to be made for the public ſafety, deliberated upon them, and prepared the ſalutary reſolution, which is to become the new and proviſional law of the Republic.—Frenchmen! you will doubtleſs recognize in this conduct the zeal of a ſoldier of Liberty, and of a citizen devoted to the Republic. Views directed to conſervation, to protection, to liberal purpoſes, will reſume their influence by the diſperſion of incendiaries

who oppreſſed the Council; and who, though they rendered themſelves the moſt odious, never ceaſed to be the moſt contemptible of mankind.

(Signed) "BONAPARTE."
"ALEX. BERTHIER."

Whilſt the Council of Five Hundred was engaged in compoſing its Addreſs to the People, and Buonaparté was buſied in promulging his Proclamation, the Council of Ancients were employed in diſcuſſing the decree ſent to them from the Council of Five Hundred: at one o'clock in the morning the Council of Ancients announced their approbation of it; and the Three Conſuls went to the Council of Five Hundred, where the Preſident, Lucien Buonaparte, ſpoke to them thus:

"CITIZENS!

"The greateſt people upon earth entruſt you with their deſtinies; within three months the public opinion ſhall judge you. Domeſtic happineſs, general liberty, the diſtreſſes of the armies, and *peace*, all theſe are entruſted to you. You muſt have courage and zeal to accept ſuch an important truſt and ſuch high functions; but you are ſupported by the confidence of the nation and of the armies; and, beſides, it is well known to the Legiſlature that your ſouls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people."

The Conſuls then took the oath to preſerve liberty and equality, and returned to Paris about four in the morning of the 11th of November, and entered upon their functions immediately. The ſeal of the Republic was changed, and the newſpapers were ſtopped at the poſt-office, and new ones printed, to inform the departments of all that had been tranſacted. In the evening of the 12th the following Addreſs from the Conſuls was read thro' Paris, by torch-light:

THE CONSULS TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"Paris, 21st Brumaire, (12th November) 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

"The Conſtitution of the Third Year was periſhing: it could neither enſure your right nor its own ſafety. Re-

peated violations deprived it for ever of the respect of the people; several odious and rapacious factions desolated the Republic. France was, at last, on the very brink of a total ruin.

"The patriots have agreed upon a plan. Those men who might have been dangerous to you have been discarded; those who may be useful to you, and those who behaved well in the national representation, have never abandoned the banners of liberty.

Frenchmen! the Republic being better settled in that rank of Europe, which she should never have lost, will see the hopes of her citizens accomplished and her glorious destinies fulfilled.

Take with us *the oath of allegiance to the Republic, one and indivisible, grounded on* EQUALITY, *on* LIBERTY, *and on the* REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM.

(Signed) "ROGER DUCOS,
"BONAPARTE,
"SIEYES."

("A true copy.) Signed *Hugues Bernard Maret*, Secretary General."

This change in the government was agreeable to the people, because the Directory, whom they hated for their corruption and despised for their weakness, was removed. It was clamoured against by the Jacobins, because they saw that their strength was departing from them and that their own designs were frustrated; but their murmurs were as effectually suppressed as their efforts, by the arrest of their leaders: they had not even the means of turning the attention of the people to the fallen Directors; although, if they had once more emerged into notice, it would have exposed them to ridicule and danger. Sieyes and Ducos were in the new Executive; and least of all did the other Ex-directors court popular observation.

Barras, had amaſſed a princely fortune, and conſoled himſelf with the enjoyments which his riches offered to his voluptuouſneſs. Gohier, the late Preſident of the Directory, had loſt, with the coſtume of his office, all the conſequence which he derived from its diſtinctive character. Moulins was ſo much the creature of fear, that, having fled from his poſt in the hour of danger, he trembled leſt the new Conſuls ſhould ſeek to puniſh him, for the very act of weakneſs which aſſiſted in lifting them into office. The Directory, then, had ſunk, never to riſe again, either into power as magiſtrates or eſteem as men.

The Revolution of the EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH BRUMAIRE was a revolution of force without bloodſhed, which raiſed a military government upon the ruins of thoſe other revolutions, that had, alternately, originated in opinion and in terror, and that had failed in ſecuring the happineſs and liberty of the people, becauſe the good men thought many were not energetic, and becauſe the vile and the vicious ſucceeded in duping the honeſty of the nation and deſtroying its virtue. This Revolution, which effected ſo much, is remarkable for having been accompliſhed without bloodſhed or ſanguinary puniſhment. The bayonet was ſhown, and was as much reſpected as a more legitimate argument would have been; that it was not uſed was, becauſe no reſiſtance could be oppoſed to it by men in whom the people had no confidence. Buonaparté and the army were the founders of the new government, and military pomp and etiquette were united with its magiſterial functions.

END OF VOL. III.

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